
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<http://books.google.com>



NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 3433 04394 1719

C 11-5135

Maistre, Joseph Marie

Pope, considered in his relations with t



THE POPE;

CONSIDERED IN

HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH,

&c. &c.



ALICE W. DUNN'S POOR PEOPLE'S FRIEND.

London, Published by J. Dolman at New Bond Street.

Digitized by Google

THE POPE;

CONSIDERED IN

HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH,
TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTIES, SEPARATED CHURCHES,

AND

THE CAUSE OF CIVILIZATION.

BY

COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.

TRANSLATED BY THE

REV. ÆNEAS M^oD. DAWSON.

‘ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΩ.

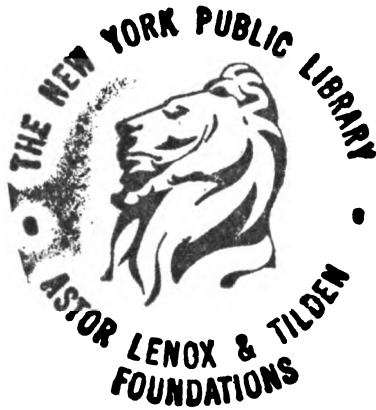
Unus princeps esto.

ILLAD ii. 204.

LONDON:

C. DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET,
AND 48^A, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCL.



LONDON:

Printed by COX (Brothers) & WYMAN, 74-75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN publishing, for the first time in the English language, a work justly considered a masterpiece,* few introductory observations need be made. It may, however, be remarked, that the attempt to make it generally known to the Catholics of these countries cannot be considered inappropriate, particularly at a time when the position of the Papal Chair, as regards the affairs of Europe, no less than its own internal state, is in so many respects the same as at the period (1816-17) when the treatise of De Maistre first emanated from the indefatigable pen of its illustrious author. Now, as then, days of calamity and humiliation have passed by, and the Supreme Pastor, to the great joy of all faithful Christians, reascends his throne amidst the acclamations of his people. What influence this event is calculated to exercise, not only as regards the state of that "kingdom which is not of this world," but likewise on human affairs generally, and the civilization and improvement of mankind, all thinking men must be anxious more and more to understand. In the work of our author they will find much to aid them in arriving at sound conclusions.

* Vid. Reeves's History of the Christian Church, Preliminary Discourse.

The passages quoted in support of the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See, from the ritual books of the Greek and the Russo-Greek Churches, are themselves a treasure of incalculable price. They are by no means *generally* known in this country, however familiar they may now be to our more learned controvertists. When Count de Maistre wrote, no reference had yet been made to these remarkable books. "Cumbrous from their form and weight, written in Sclavonic, a language which, although very rich and very beautiful, is as strange as Sanscrit to our eyes and ears, printed in repulsive characters, buried in the churches, and handled only by men totally unknown to the world, it is easily understood why this mine has not been hitherto explored." Every facility for exploring it was enjoyed by the distinguished author, during his residence in Russia as ambassador from the court of Turin.

If the following pages, instead of advocating truths in which all men and all nations are alike concerned, were addressed only to the people of France, they would not on that account be without interest in our eyes. From the age of Pepin, and far beyond that memorable epoch, the history of the French people has been intimately connected not only with that of St. Peter's Chair and the Papal States, but also with that of every branch of the Christian Church and every state of Christendom. Of late years, more particularly towards the close of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, they appear to have been the chosen instrument of Divine Providence in

rendering apparent the great truth our author so learnedly inculcates. The giant power that arose out of the chaos of the first revolution, controlling for a time its fury and directing its energies, no sooner aimed his blows at that institution which alone is destined to endure "all days," than his wild, ambitious, and, till that time, successful career, hastened rapidly to its close. He essays to quash the authority of the Apostolic Chair, his own imperial seat crumbles beneath him, and he is cast, "like a hissing fire-brand, in the deep."

The successor of St. Peter, meanwhile, recovering from the shock of accumulated evils, which, humanly speaking, appeared to have struck him down for ever, resumes his place and power. All the sovereignties of Europe, not excepting Britain's threefold crown, concur in forwarding an event so conducive to the real interests of each of them, and so highly calculated to promote the cause of order, freedom, and civilization throughout the world.

A few years more, and the social fabric is again shaken to its inmost depths. Thrones fall, governments are overthrown, empires are dismembered. The revolutionary tempest sweeps over Europe, bearing down for a time in its resistless course institutions which for centuries had been deemed immoveable. The temporal throne—the patrimony of the Galilean fisherman—is favoured with no exception. It becomes the spoil of the enemies of mankind and of human liberty. Not so the sacred Chair itself. Against it *the powers of hell, even, shall not prevail*. It survives

the wreck of all its material glories ; without diminution or symptom of decay, it only shines more brightly from contrast with the ruins which surround it. Once more is the prophecy, uttered so many ages ago, fulfilled in its regard : " Kings become its nursing fathers, and queens its nurses." (Is. xlix. 23.) In adversity it gathers strength, and extends the sphere of its real dominion. Opportunity having been afforded it of making manifest to the world that to it belongs, as its inalienable inheritance, that inward beauty, the all-attractive and imperishable ornament of the immaculate spouse of the heavenly bridegroom, and that it holds of right, and independently of all temporal accidents, the chief government on earth of that *kingdom of which there shall be no end*,* it receives anew the external splendour of which it had been violently but only momentarily stripped. Once more does this Divine light invest itself with the material form of a pillar of flame, to guide as of old the people of God through the night of error which surrounds them.

Vain, then, have proved the united efforts, the concentrated energies of all the enemies of order, government, liberty, and religion, that it was possible Europe should produce, in the days of one generation, and the Apostolic throne remains. It remains, not as some decayed and inexplicable object of antiquarian research, but in more, far more than " the undiminished vigour" of its earlier days. Restitution has been nobly made, and it appears again

* *Cujus regni non erit finis.*—Nicene Creed.

arrayed in all the strength and beauty of its outward circumstance. In this signal act of justice, which, leaving its intrinsic merits out of view, was imperatively demanded by the necessities of our age, all the nations of the civilized world have concurred; but none more cordially, or at greater cost to themselves, than that illustrious people who justly claim to be, and have shown themselves so well, the worthy descendants of Pepin and of Charlemagne. Who knows how far the words of the great man, so much of whose vast store of knowledge, profound thoughts, and immense experience is embodied in the following work, may have tended to rouse up within them the chivalric spirit of their ancestors, and the still brighter flame of Christian faith and devotedness to the See of Peter? But should any reference to France, which, indeed, is only prominent in the author's Preliminary Discourse, prove distasteful to some readers, it will be lost sight of in the general interest of the subjects discussed.

That all hostility is to be disarmed by this or any other exposition and defence of all or a portion of the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, none can be so ignorant of human nature as to imagine; but the work of our author will not have fallen short of its aim, if, by its perusal, so much as one illiberal prejudice is shaken—one erroneous notion dispelled. There may not be wanting those in whom it will only excite astonishment. They who have hitherto seen in the Holy See, and in the paternal exercise of the most paternal autho-

rity, nothing better than a power essentially and irremediably evil,—a power that cramps and crushes the human intellect—that extinguishes every generous thought, and even the desire of liberty—will naturally enough be astonished to find in so zealous an advocate of every Papal privilege as the learned and amiable De Maistre, a sincere admirer of the British constitution, and of that real freedom of which Christianity is the strongest prop and surest guarantee;—freedom, which it is not difficult to distinguish from the unbridled liberty of pseudo-philosophers, anarchists, terrorists, and such as are enemies of all authority.

In a country where the Catholic Church and all its institutions have been so long systematically calumniated, it must, to some at least, appear still more wonderful that the Popes, whom men have been taught to consider as the very incarnation of despotism and tyranny, have ever fearlessly advocated and powerfully supported the cause of true civil liberty; * whilst, at the same time, they have always shown themselves—and with more success than any other influence in the world—the uncompromising enemies of all spurious imitations of this great source of human happiness.

* Vid. in the work remarks on the liberty of Italy, book ii. ch. viii. &c. ; book iii. ch. ii.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.

It may appear surprising that a man of the world should assume the right to treat of questions, which, until our time, have seemed to belong exclusively to the zeal and science of the sacerdotal order. I trust, nevertheless, that, after having weighed the reasons that have determined me to enter the lists in this honourable cause, every candid and well-disposed reader will approve them in his conscience, and absolve me from all baseness of usurpation.

In the first place, as our order was during last century egregiously criminal in regard to religion, I do not see why the same order should not present ecclesiastical writers with some faithful allies, who shall array themselves around the altar to keep at a distance from it every rash assailant, without embarrassing the Levites.

I doubt even whether, in these times, such an alliance has not become necessary. A thousand causes have weakened the sacerdotal order. The Revolution has plundered, exiled, massacred the priesthood; it has practised every species of cruelty against the natural defenders of the maxims which it held in abhorrence. The ancient war-

rions of the sacred camp have departed to their rest ; young recruits are indeed coming forward to fill their places, but they are still necessarily few in number, the enemy having, by anticipation, cut off their supplies with the most fatal ability. Who knows, besides, if Eliseus, before taking wing for his heavenly country, cast his mantle on the earth, and if the holy garment may have been immediately gathered up ? It is, no doubt, probable, that as no human motive could have influenced the determination of the young heroes who have entered their names among the new levies, everything may be expected of their noble resolution. And yet how much time must they not spend in acquiring all the knowledge requisite for the combat which awaits them ? And when they shall have become masters of the necessary learning, will they have sufficient leisure to employ it ? The most indispensable polemics scarcely belong to any other times than those of profound peace, when labours can be freely distributed according to strength and talents. Huet would not have written his "Démonstration Evangélique" whilst exercising his episcopal functions ; and if Bergier had been condemned by circumstances to bear during his whole lifetime, in a country parish, "*the burthen of the day and of the heat,*" he would not have been able to present religion with that multitude of works which have entitled him to rank among the most excellent apologists.

In such laborious occupations, holy, indeed, but overwhelming, are now more or less engaged the clergy of all Europe, but more particularly those of France, who were more directly and more violently struck by the revolutionary tempest. As regards them, all the flowers of the sacred ministry are withered ; the thorns alone re-

main. As regards them, the Church is beginning anew, and by the very nature of things, confessors and martyrs must precede doctors. It is not easy to foresee the moment when, restored to its former tranquillity, and sufficiently numerous to bring into full operation all the resources of its immense ministry, it may yet astonish us by its science, as well as by the sanctity of its morals, the activity of its zeal, and the prodigious success of its apostolic labours.

I see no reason why, during this interval, which in other respects will not be lost to religion, men of the world, who from inclination have applied to serious studies, should not number themselves among the defenders of the most holy of causes. Even although they should only fill up the broken ranks of the army of the Lord, they could not be justly denied at least the merit of those courageous women who have been known sometimes to mount the ramparts of a besieged town, in order, if they could do no more, to strike terror into the enemy.

All science, besides, always owes, but especially at a period like the present, a kind of *tithe* to him from whom it proceeds, for *he is the God of sciences, and for him are all thoughts prepared.*^a We are approaching the greatest of all religious epochs, in which every man is bound, if it be in his power, to bring a stone for the august edifice, the plans of which are obviously fixed. None ought to be deterred by mediocrity of talents; by this, at least, I have not been dismayed. The poor man, who, in his narrow garden, sows only *mint, anise, and cummin,*^b may confidently present the first leaf to Heaven, as sure of being

^a Deus scientiarum Dominus est, et ipsi præparantur cogitationes.—1 Reg. ii. 3.

^b Matt. xxiii. 23.

accepted as the opulent owner of vast fields, who pours in abundance into the temple of God, *the strength of bread and the blood of the vine.*^a

Another consideration has tended in no small degree to encourage me. The priest who defends religion does his duty, no doubt, and deserves our highest esteem ; but, in the eyes of a multitude of frivolous or preoccupied persons, he appears to defend his own cause ; and although his good faith be equal to our own, every observer may have often perceived that the wicked and unbelieving mistrust less the man of the world, and allow themselves to be approached by him, not unfrequently, without the least repugnance. Now, all who have attentively examined this wild and sullen bird, know also that it is incomparably more difficult to approach than to seize him.

May I be permitted to say, moreover, if the man who has employed his attention, all his lifetime, on an important subject, who has devoted to that subject every moment he could dispose of, and directed towards it all his knowledge ; if such a man, I say, experiences within himself a certain indefinable power which makes him feel it necessary to communicate his ideas, he ought, no doubt, to be on his guard against the illusions of self-love ; but, nevertheless, he is, perhaps, in some degree, entitled to believe that this kind of inspiration is really something, especially if it is not wholly without the approbation of other men.

It is now a long time since *I considered France*,^b and, if I am not completely blinded by the honourable ambition

^a Robur panis . . . sanguinem uvæ.—Ps. civ. 16 ; Isaias iii. 1.

^b *Considérations sur la France*, in 8vo. Bâle, Genève, Paris, 1795, 1796 ; Lyon, 1830.

of pleasing that country, my work, it appears to me, has not been disagreeable to it. Since, in the midst of its most terrible calamities, it listened with kindness to the voice of a friend who belonged to it by religion, by language, and by those hopes of a higher order which always remain, why should it not agree still to favour me with an attentive hearing, now that it has made so great a step towards happiness, and that it has so far recovered tranquillity as to be able to examine itself and judge itself wisely?

Circumstances have, indeed, much changed since the year 1796. At that time all honest men were at liberty to attack the brigands at their own risk and peril. Now that all the powers of Europe are restored, error having divers points of contact with politics, there might happen to the writer who should not be constantly on his guard, the same misfortune which befel Diomedes under the walls of Troy,—that of wounding a divinity; whilst pursuing an enemy.

Happily, there is nothing so evident for conscience as conscience itself. If I were not conscious of being penetrated with universal benevolence, absolutely free from all spirit of contention, and from all polemical anger, even in regard to those men whose systems are most revolting to me, God is my witness, I would throw down the pen; and I venture to hope that every sincere man who reads me will have no doubt of my intentions. But this consciousness excludes neither the solemn profession of my belief, nor the distinct and dignified expression of faith, nor the cry of alarm in presence of a known or disguised enemy, nor that honest proselytism, in fine, which proceeds from persuasion.

After a declaration, the sincerity of which will, I trust, be fully justified by every page of my work, I would not experience the least disquietude, even although I should be in direct opposition with other creeds. I know what is due to nations and to those by whom they are governed, but I do not think I derogate from this sentiment by telling them the truth with all due consideration. The first lines of my book make known its object; he who might dread being shocked by it is earnestly entreated not to read it. To me it is demonstrated, and I would most willingly prove the same to other men, *that without the Sovereign Pontiff there is no real Christianity, and that no sincere Christian man, separated from him, will sign upon his honour (provided he be well informed) a clearly defined profession of faith.*

All the nations that have withdrawn from the authority of the Holy Father, no doubt, if taken in the aggregate, possess the right (the learned possess it not) to denounce me as paradoxical, but none are entitled to charge me with insulting them. Every writer who restricts himself to the sphere of a severe logic is wanting to nobody. The only honourable revenge that can be taken on him is, to reason against him, and better than he.

SECTION II.

Although in the whole course of my work I have confined myself as much as possible to general ideas, it will, nevertheless, be easily perceived that I have given particular attention to France. Until that country understand how deeply it is in error, there is no safety for it; but if it be yet blind in this respect, Europe is still more so, perhaps, in regard to what it has to expect from France.

There are privileged nations that have a mission in this world. In a former work I endeavoured to explain that of France, which appears to me as visible as the sun. There is in the natural government, and in the national ideas of the French people, a certain theocratic and religious element, which is never lost sight of. The Frenchman stands in need of religion more than any other man. If he wants it, he is not only weakened, but mutilated. Consider his history. To the government of the Druids, which was all-powerful, succeeded that of the bishops, who were constantly, but much more in ancient times than in our days, the *counsellors of the king in all his counsels*. The bishops, and Gibbon remarks it, *made the kingdom of France*.^a There is nothing more true. The bishops *constructed* this monarchy as bees construct a hive. The councils of the Church in the first ages of the monarchy were really national councils. *The Christian Druids*, if I may use the expression, performed in them the principal part. The forms had changed, but we always find the same nation. The Teutonic blood, sufficiently mingled with it to give a name to France, disappeared almost entirely at the battle of Fontenai, and left only the Gauls. We have the proof of this in the language—for when a people is *one*, their language is *one*; ^b and if it be mixed in

^b Gibbon, Hist. of the Decline and Fall, &c. vol. vii. ch. xxxviii. Paris, Maradan, 1812, in 8vo.

^b Hence, the more we penetrate into antiquity, the more *radical*, and consequently the more *regular*, do we find languages. In starting from the word *maison*, for instance, as the root, the Greek would have said *maisonniste, maisonnier, maisonneur, maisonnerie, maisonner, emmaisonner, démaisonner*, &c. The French, on the other hand, are obliged to say, *maison, domestique, économe*,

any way, but particularly by conquest, each constituent nation produce sits portion of the national tongue, the syntax, and what is called the *genius of the language*, belonging always to the predominating people ; and the number of words contributed by each nation is always exactly in proportion to the amount of blood furnished respectively by the divers nations composing the whole and joined together in national unity. Now, the Teutonic element is scarcely perceptible in the French language ; considered in the aggregate, the French are Celtic and Roman. There is nothing so great in the world. Cicero said, " Let us flatter ourselves as we will, we shall never surpass either the Gauls in valour, or the Spaniards in number, or the Greeks in talents, &c. ; but by religion and the fear of the gods, we excel all the nations of the world."

This *Roman* element, naturalized in Gaul, admirably agreed with Druidism, which Christianity stripped of its errors and of its ferocity, whilst it allowed to remain a certain root, which was good ; and from all these elements there resulted an extraordinary nation, destined to act an astonishing part among the other nations, and especially to hold for the second time the first place in the religious system of Europe.

Christianity obtained among the French people at an early period, and with, a facility which could only be the result of a particular affinity. The Gallican Church scarcely

casanier, maçon, bâtir, habiter, démolir, &c. We here discover the dust of divers nations, commingled, and amalgamated by the hand of time. I do not believe that there can be a language which does not possess some element of those which have preceded it ; but there are, for the most part, great constituent masses, which may, as it were, be touched.

had an infancy; it was, so to speak, at its birth, the first of national churches, and the strongest support of unity.

The French people enjoyed the singular honour, which they have by no means sufficiently appreciated, of constituting (humanly speaking) the Catholic Church in the world, by raising its august chief to the rank indispensably due to his Divine functions, and without which he would only have been the miserable sport of Christian sultans and Mussulman autocrats.

Charlemagne, the modern *Trismegistus*, erected, or caused to be recognized, the pontifical throne, which was destined to ennoble and consolidate all other thrones. As there has not been a greater institution in the universe, there is undoubtedly none in which the hand of Providence has more obviously shown itself; but it is highly honourable to have been selected by Divine Providence as the enlightened instrument in accomplishing a work so truly wonderful and without example.

When, in the middle ages, we repaired to Asia, and endeavoured, sword in hand, to break on its own territory that formidable Crescent which threatened all the liberties of Europe, the French were likewise at the head of this immortal enterprise. A private individual, who bequeathed to posterity only his baptismal name, adorned with the modest surname of *Hermit*, with no other aid than his faith and indomitable will, moved Europe, terrified Asia, destroyed the feudal system, ennobled the serfs, removed from under its bushel the torch of science, and completely changed the European world.

Bernard seconded the Hermit—Bernard, the miracle of his age, and, like Peter, a Frenchman, a man of the world.

and mortified cenobite, orator, wit, statesman, *solitary, who had more external occupations than most men will ever have; consulted by the whole world, intrusted with an infinite number of important negotiations, pacifying states, called to the councils of the Church, advising kings, instructing bishops, reprimanding Popes, governing an entire order, the preacher and oracle of his time.*^a

We are constantly told that none of these celebrated enterprises succeeded. Undoubtedly *no single crusade succeeded*; this even children know; but *all the crusades succeeded*; and this men even will not see.

The French name made so great an impression in the East, that it has there remained synonymous, as it were, with that of *European*; and the greatest poet of Italy, writing in the sixteenth century, hesitates not to employ the same expression.^b

The French sceptre was illustrious both at Jerusalem and Constantinople. What great things was there not reason to expect of it? It would have aggrandized Europe, vanquished Islamism, and extinguished schism; unfortunately, however, it was not able to keep its ground.

. Magnis tamen excidit ausis.

A considerable portion of the literary glory of the French, particularly in the great century, belongs to the clergy. Science being generally contrary to the propagation of families and of names,^c there is nothing more conformable

^a Bourdaloue, Serm. sur la Fuite du Monde, première partie.

^b *Il Popol Franco* (the Crusaders, the army of Godefrey).—Tasso.

^c Hence arises, no doubt, the ancient prejudice as to the incompatibility of science with nobility,—a prejudice founded, like

to order than a hidden direction of science towards the sacerdotal and consequently the celibatory state.

No nation has possessed a greater number of ecclesiastical establishments than the French, and no sovereignty has employed more advantageously for itself a greater number of priests than the court of France. Ministers, ambassadors, negotiators, teachers, &c., are found in every department of the public service. From Suger to Fleury, France has only had credit by them. It is regretted that the ablest and most illustrious of them all was sometimes inexorably severe; but he never passed the bounds of severity; and I am inclined to believe, that under the ministry of this great man the punishment of the Templars, and other events of a like nature, would not have been possible.

The highest nobility of France held it an honour to possess the great dignities of the Church. What was there in Europe superior to that Gallican Church, which possessed all that pleases God and captivates men—virtue, learning, nobility, and opulence?

Do we desire a representation of ideal grandeur? Let us imagine, if we can, anything that surpasses Fenelon. We shall not succeed.

Charlemagne in his will bequeathed to his sons the guardianship of the Roman Church. This legacy, repudiated by the German emperors, had passed as a kind of fiefment of trust to the crown of France. The Catholic Church might have been represented by an ellipsis: in one of the focuses was St. Peter, and in the other Charlemagne.

all other prejudices, on some hidden cause. No learned man of the first class has been able to found a house. Already, even the names of the sixteenth century that were celebrated in literature and science no longer exist.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

The Gallican Church, with its power, its doctrine, its dignity, its language, its proselytism, appeared sometimes to bring the two centres into contact, and confound them in the most magnificent unity.

But, O human weakness ! O deplorable blindness ! detestable prejudices, which I shall have occasion to speak of more at length in the course of this work, had wholly perverted this admirable order, this sublime relation between the two powers. By means of sophistry and criminal manœuvres, one of the brightest prerogatives of the most Christian king, that of presiding (humanly) over the religious system, and of being the hereditary protector of Catholic unity, was too successfully concealed from him. Constantine, of old, gloried in the title of *temporal bishop*. That of *temporal* Sovereign Pontiff flattered not the ambition of a successor of Charlemagne, and this post offered by Providence was vacant ! Ah ! if the kings of France had been inclined to lend the strength of their arm to truth, what would they not have accomplished ? But what can a king do when *the lights of his people are extinguished* ? It must even be said, to the immortal glory of an august house, the royal spirit with which it is animated has frequently and most happily been more learned than the academies, and more just than the tribunals.

Overthrown at last by a preternatural tempest, we have seen this mission, so precious for Europe, restored through a miracle, which promises other miracles, and which ought to inspire all Frenchmen with religious courage ; but the height of misfortune for them would be to believe that the revolution is at an end, and that the column is replaced, because it has been raised up anew. It must be believed, on the contrary, that the revolutionary spirit is, beyond

comparison, more powerful and more dangerous than it was a few years back. The mighty usurper made use of it only for himself; he knew how to compress it in his iron hand, and reduce it to be only a monopoly for the benefit of his crown. But since *justice and peace have embraced*, the genius of evil has ceased to fear; and, instead of agitating at one point, it has reproduced a general ebullition over an immense surface.

May I be permitted to repeat that the French revolution is not like to anything that was ever witnessed in the world in bygone times. It is essentially *satanical*.^a Never will it be wholly extinguished except by the contrary principle, and never will the French people resume their place until they have acknowledged this truth. The priesthood ought to be the principal object of the sovereign's care. If I had under my eyes the table of ordinations, I might predict great events. The French nobility are now presented with an opportunity of offering to the state a sacrifice worthy of them. Let them, therefore, give their sons to the altar, as in days of old. In these times it will not be said that they covet only the treasures of the sanctuary. The Church, in earlier times, conferred on them riches and honour; let them now make a return for her gifts, by bestowing upon her all they have yet in their power—the influence of their illustrious names, which will maintain the ancient opinion, and determine a multitude of men to follow standards borne by such worthy hands: *time will do the rest*. In thus sustaining the priesthood, the French nobility will pay an immense debt they have contracted towards France, and also perhaps as regards all

^a Considérations sur la France, ch. x. sect. 3.

Europe. The greatest mark of respect and of profound esteem that can be shown them, is to remind them that the French revolution—which they would, no doubt, have redeemed with the last drop of their blood—was, nevertheless, in a great measure their own work. So long as a pure aristocracy (in other words, an aristocracy professing, with enthusiasm, national dogmas) surrounds the throne, it is immoveable, even although it should happen to be filled by weakness or error; but if the *baronage* becomes apostate, there is no longer any safety for the throne, even if it were occupied by a St. Louis or a Charlemagne; and this is more true as regards France than any other country. By their monstrous alliance with the bad principle during last century, the French nobility ruined everything. It is now their duty to repair all the evil they occasioned. Their destiny is certain, provided they be well persuaded of the natural, essential, necessary *French* alliance of the priesthood and the nobility.

At the most disastrous period of the revolution, it was said: "This is for the nobility only a well-deserved eclipse. It will resume its place. It will escape at last, by receiving with a good grace children that had no claim to belong to it."

Des enfants qu'en son sein elle n'a point portés. *

What was said twenty years ago is now in course of being verified. If the French nobility are under the necessity of recruiting, it lies with them to prevent their renewal from being anywise humbling to the ancient houses. When once they shall have understood why this renewal had

* *Considérations sur la France*, ch. x. sect. 3.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

become necessary, it can no longer be offensive to them or hurtful ; but this remark must only be made, as it were, by the way, and without entering into learned details.

I return to my principal subject, by observing that the anti-religious fury of last century against all Christian truths and institutions, was directed against the Holy See. The conspirators were sufficiently aware—they knew, unfortunately, much better than the multitude of well-intentioned men, that *Christianity is wholly based upon the Sovereign Pontiff*. Against this foundation, therefore, they directed all their efforts. If they had proposed to the Catholic cabinets measures directly anti-christian, fear or shame (in the absence of more noble motives) would have sufficed to repel them ; for all the princes, therefore, they laid the most subtle snares.

“ The wisest of kings, alas ! they contrived to lead astray.”

They represented to them the Holy See as the natural enemy of all thrones ; they environed it with calumnies, made it be mistrusted in every way, and endeavoured to place it in opposition to the welfare of states. In short, they forgot nothing that was calculated to connect the idea of dignity with that of independence. By means of usurpation, violence, chicanery, and encroachments of every kind, they rendered the policy of Rome jealous and slow, and then accused it of deficiencies, which it owed entirely to themselves. In a word, they succeeded to a degree that causes the greatest alarm. The evil is such, that the consideration of certain Catholic countries may have sometimes scandalized parties that were strangers to truth, and averted them from it. Nevertheless, without the Sovereign Pontiff the whole edifice of Christianity is undermined,

and only requires, in order to be utterly demolished, the development of certain circumstances, which will be shown in their true light.

Meanwhile, facts are not silent. Were Protestants ever known to amuse themselves writing books against the Greek, Nestorian, or Syriac churches, which profess dogmas that Protestantism abhors? They do no such thing. On the contrary, they protect those churches, they compliment them, and show themselves ready to unite with them, always holding as a true ally every enemy of the Holy See.^a

The infidel, on the other hand, laughs at all dissenters, and makes use of them *all*, quite sure that *all*, more or less, and each one of them in his way, will forward *his great work*, the destruction of Christianity.

Protestantism, philosophism, and a thousand other sects, more or less perverse or extravagant, having prodigiously *diminished truths among men*,^b it is impossible mankind should continue long in the state they are in at present. They are in agitation and labour, they are ashamed of themselves, and are seeking, with an indescribable convulsive energy, to make head against the torrent of errors, after having abandoned themselves to them with the systematic blindness of pride. It has appeared to me useful, at this memorable time, to set forth in all its fulness a theory no less vast than it is important, and to disencumber it of the obscurities with which men have obstinately persisted

^a See the *Asiatic Researches* of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in which he proposes to the Anglican Church to ally itself in India with the Syriac, *because it rejects the supremacy of the Pope*. In 8vo. London, 1812, p. 283 to 287.

^b *Diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum.*—Ps. xi. 2.

in enveloping it for so long a time. Without presuming too much on my endeavours, I trust, however, that they will not be altogether fruitless. A good book is not one which persuades everybody ; if so, there would be no good book. It is one which completely satisfies a certain class of readers, to whom it is more particularly addressed, and which, moreover, leaves no doubt in any mind of the perfectly honest purpose of the author, and the indefatigable toil he has subjected himself to, in order to become master of his subject, and even to find for it, if possible, some new points of view. I flatter myself, in all simplicity, that in this respect, every equitable reader will decide that I am not out of order. I am convinced that it was never more necessary to surround with every ray of evidence a truth of the first class, and I also believe that truth stands in need of France. I am not without hope, therefore, that France will read me once more with kindness ; and I would consider myself fortunate, above all, if its great personages of every order, reflecting on what I expect of them, should make it a point of conscience to refute me.

CONTENTS.

BOOK FIRST.

OF THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Infallibility *Page* 1

CHAPTER II.

Councils 9

CHAPTER III.

Definition and authority of Councils 11

CHAPTER IV.

Analogies derived from temporal power 17

CHAPTER V.

Digression on what is termed the youth of nations 21

CHAPTER VI.

Supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff recognized in every age.
Catholic testimonies of the Churches of the West and of
the East 24

CHAPTER VII.

Striking testimonies of the Gallican Church 34

CHAPTER VIII.

Jansenist evidence. Text from Pascal, and reflections on the
weight of certain authorities 36

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IX.	
Protestant evidences	39
CHAPTER X.	
Testimonies of the Russian Church, and through it of the Greek dissenting Church	45
CHAPTER XI.	
On certain texts of Bossuet	55
CHAPTER XII.	
Of the Council of Constantia	63
CHAPTER XIII.	
Of Canons in general, and appeal to their authority ...	67
CHAPTER XIV.	
Examination of a particular difficulty raised against the decisions of the Popes	71
CHAPTER XV.	
Infalibility <i>de facto</i>	76
CHAPTER XVI.	
Answer to some objections	95
CHAPTER XVII.	
Of infalibility in the philosophical system	100
CHAPTER XVIII.	
No danger in the consequence of a recognized supremacy ...	101
CHAPTER XIX.	
The same subject continued ; further explanations in regard to Infalibility	106
CHAPTER XX.	
Observations on discipline concluded : Digression on the Latin language	109

BOOK SECOND.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTIES.

CHAPTER I.

A few words on Sovereignty	115
-----------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER II.				
Inconveniences of Sovereignty ... ..	...	...	...	116
CHAPTER III.				
Ideas of antiquity on the great problem ... ..	...	...	...	121
CHAPTER IV.				
Further considerations on the same subject ... ..	...	...	...	125
CHAPTER V.				
Distinguishing characteristic of the power exercised by the Popes ... ..	...	...	...	128
CHAPTER VI.				
Temporal power of the Popes—Wars which they have sus- tained as temporal princes ... ..	...	...	...	132
CHAPTER VII.				
Objects the Popes had in view in their contests with sovereign princes ... ..	...	...	...	149
CHAPTER VIII.				
The nature of the power exercised by the Popes ... ..	...	...	...	172
CHAPTER IX.				
Justification of the Pontifical Power ... ..	...	...	...	175
CHAPTER X.				
Exercise of the Pope's supremacy over temporal sovereigns	...	...	...	185
CHAPTER XI.				
Hypothetical application of the preceding principles ... ..	...	...	...	193
CHAPTER XII.				
On the wars alleged to have arisen from the shock of the two powers ... ..	...	...	...	197
CHAPTER XIII.				
Continuation of the same subject—Reflections on the wars	...	...	...	210
CHAPTER XIV.				
The Bull of Alexander VI., " <i>inter cœtera</i>" ... ..	...	...	...	215
CHAPTER XV.				
The Bull " <i>In cœnâ Domini</i>" ... ..	...	...	...	217
CHAPTER XVI.				
Digression on ecclesiastical jurisdiction ... ..	...	...	...	220

CONTENTS.

BOOK THIRD.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH CIVILIZATION AND THE
HAPPINESS OF NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Missions 224

CHAPTER II.

Civil liberty of mankind 237

CHAPTER III.

Institution of the Priesthood—Celibacy of Priests 245

CHAPTER IV.

Founding of European Monarchy 273

CHAPTER V.

How long princes commonly live—Secret alliance of Religion and of Sovereignty 281

CHAPTER VI.

Observations on Russia 286

CHAPTER VII.

Further particular considerations on the Eastern Empire ... 290

CHAPTER VIII.

Recapitulation and conclusion of Book Third 295

BOOK FOURTH.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCHES CALLED
SCHISMATICAL.

CHAPTER I.

Every schismatical Church is Protestant—Affinity of the two systems—Testimony of the Russian Church 300

CHAPTER II.

Pretended invariability of dogma in the separated Churches in the twelfth century 304

CHAPTER III.

Further considerations arising from the position of the Photian churches; particular remarks on the Anglican and Russian sects 307

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

On the designation of Photian applied to the schismatical churches 310

CHAPTER V.

Impossibility of giving to the separated churches a name expressive of unity.—Principles of the whole discussion, and predilection of the author 314

CHAPTER VI.

False reasonings of the separated churches; reflections on national and religious prejudices 322

CHAPTER VII.

Of Greece and its character.—Arts, sciences, and military power 325

CHAPTER VIII.

The same subject continued.—Moral character of the Greeks. Their hatred to the people of the West 331

CHAPTER IX.

A particular trait of the Greek character.—Spirit of division 334

CHAPTER X.

A Photian paralogism cleared up.—Advantage pretended to be derived by the Photian churches from priority in chronological order 336

CHAPTER XI.

What must be expected of the Greeks 341

Conclusion of the Book.

THE POPE.

BOOK I.

OF THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

INFALLIBILITY.

WHAT has not been said about infallibility in a theological point of view! It would be difficult to add new arguments to those which the defenders of this high prerogative have already accumulated, in order to support it by undoubted authorities, and to disencumber it of the misrepresentations with which it has pleased the enemies of Christianity and of unity to surround it, in the hope of rendering it odious, at least, if it was by no means possible to do worse.

But I am not aware it has been sufficiently remarked, with regard to this great question, as well as so many others, that theological truths are no other than general truths manifested and divinized within the sphere of religion, in such manner that it is impossible to attack one without attacking a law of the world.

Infallibility in the spiritual order of things, and *sovereignty* in the temporal order, are two words perfectly synonymous. The one and the other denote that high power which rules over all other powers—from which they all derive their authority—which governs, and is not governed—which judges, and is not judged.

When we say that *the Church is infallible*, we do not ask for her, it is quite essential to be observed, any parti-

cular privilege ; we only require that she possess the right common to all possible sovereignties, which all necessarily act as if infallible. For every government is absolute ; and from the moment it can be resisted, under pretext of error or injustice, it no longer exists.

Sovereignty, indeed, has different forms. It speaks not the same language at Constantinople as at London ; but once it has spoken in the one place and the other, after the fashion peculiar to each, the *bill* and the *fefta* are alike without appeal.

The case is the same in regard to the Church. In one way or another, it must be governed, like any other association whatsoever ; otherwise there would be no aggregation, no wholeness, no unity. It is the nature of this Government, therefore, to be infallible—that is to say, absolute—else it would no longer govern.

In the judiciary order, which is nothing else than a portion of the Government, is it not obvious that we must acknowledge a power which judges, and is not judged ; and that for no other reason than that it pronounces in the name of the supreme power of which it is considered the organ and the voice ? Let us view it as we will, let us give to this high power whatever name we please, there must always be one to whom it never can be said—“ *You have erred.*” As a matter of course, the party condemned is always displeased with the sentence, and never doubts of the injustice of the tribunal. But disinterested policy, which looks from a higher point of view, makes no account of these vain complaints. It knows there are limits beyond which none must proceed ; that interminable trials, appeals without end, and the uncertain tenure of properties, are, if it may be so expressed, more unjust than injustice.

The question, then, is to know where resides sovereignty in the Church ? For, once it is recognized, there is no longer room to appeal from its decisions.

Now, if there be anything evident to reason as well as to faith, it is, that the universal Church is a monarchy. The very idea of *universality* supposes this form of Government, the absolute necessity of which rests on the twofold

ground of the number of subjects, and the geographical extent of the empire. So all Catholic writers, worthy of the name, agree unanimously that the rule of the Church is monarchical, but sufficiently tempered with aristocracy to be the best and the most perfect of governments.*

Bellarmin so understands it ; and he admits, with perfect candour, that mixed monarchical government is better than pure monarchy.^b

It may be remarked that in no age of Christianity has this monarchical form been contested or undervalued, except by the factious whom it embarrassed.

The rebels of the sixteenth century attributed sovereignty to *the Church*—that is, to the people. The eighteenth century did only transfer these maxims to politics ; the system and the theory are the same, even to their remotest consequences. *What difference is there between the Church of God, guided solely by His word, and the great republic, one and indivisible, governed solely by the laws and by the deputies of the sovereign people?* None. It is the same folly, renewed only at a different time and under another name.

What is a republic, once it has exceeded certain dimensions ? It is a country, more or less extensive, commanded by a certain number of men, who call themselves *the republic*. But the government is always ONE ; for there is not, nay, there cannot be, a dispersed republic. Thus, in the time of the Roman republic, the republican sovereignty was in the *Forum* ; and the subject countries—that is to say, about two-thirds of the known world—were a monarchy, of which the *Forum* was the absolute and merciless sovereign. Remove this state of rule, and there remains no longer any tie or common government, and all unity disappears.

Very little to the purpose, then, have the Presbyterian Churches pretended to make us accept, by dint of talking, as a possible hypothesis, the republican form, which by no

* Certum est monarchicum illud regimen esse aristocratia aliquâ temperatum. (Duval, De sup. Potest. Papæ, part. i., quæst. 1.)

^b Bellarmin, De Summo Pontif., cap. iii.

means belongs to them except in a divided and particular sense, viz., that each country has its Church, which is republican ; but there is not, and there cannot be, a *Christian republican Church*: so that the Presbyterian form destroys that article of the Apostles' Creed which, nevertheless, the ministers of this persuasion are obliged to pronounce at least every Sunday: "I BELIEVE IN THE ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH." For as soon as there is no longer a centre or common government, there can be no unity, nor consequently an *universal* or *Catholic Church*, since there is no individual Church which, under this supposition, has even the constitutional means of knowing that it is in religious communion with other Churches.

To maintain that a number of independent Churches form *one universal Church*, is to maintain in other words that all the political governments of Europe constitute only *one universal government*. These two ideas are identical. There is no room for cavil.

If any one thought of proposing a *kingdom of France without a King of France, an empire of Russia without an Emperor of Russia*, he would justly be considered out of his mind ; it would nevertheless be exactly the same idea as that of an *universal Church* without a chief.

It would be superfluous to speak of an aristocracy ; for, there never having been in the Church a body that pretended to rule it under any form, whether elective or hereditary, it follows that its Government is necessarily monarchical, every other form being rigorously excluded.

Monarchical government once established, infallibility becomes a necessary consequence of *supremacy*—or, rather, it is absolutely the same thing, under a different name. But although this identity be evident, never have men seen, or been willing to see, that the whole question depends on this truth ; and this truth depending, in its turn, on the very nature of things, it by no means requires to be supported by theology ;—so that, in speaking of unity as necessary, error (supposing it possible) could not be opposed to the Sovereign Pontiff, any more than it can be in oppo-

sition to temporal Sovereigns, who have never pretended to infallibility. It is, in reality, absolutely the same thing in practice not to be liable to error, and to be above being accused of it. Thus, even though it should be agreed that no Divine promise has been made to the Pope, he would not be less infallible, or considered such, as the highest tribunal; for every judgment from which there can be no appeal, is and ought to be held just in every human association, under all imaginable forms of government; and every sound statesman will understand me when I say that the question is, not only to know whether the Sovereign Pontiff *is*, but also whether he ought to be, infallible.

He who should have the right to say to the Pope that he is wrong, would also, on the same ground, be entitled to disobey him—which would entirely do away with supremacy (or infallibility); and this fundamental idea is so striking, that one of the most learned Protestant authors of our age^a has written a dissertation to prove that *the appeal from the Pope to a future council* destroys *visible unity*. Nothing can be more true; for, from an habitual and indispensable government, there can be no appeal, under pain of the dissolution of the body governed, to a power that only exists occasionally.

Behold, then, on the one hand, Mosheim, who demonstrates, by irrefragable proofs, that appeal to a future council destroys *the visible unity of the Church*—that is to say, Catholicity in the first place, and shortly afterwards Christianity itself; and, on the other hand, Fleury, who, enumerating the *liberties* of his Church, says, *We believe that it is permitted to appeal from the Pope to a future council*, NOTWITHSTANDING THE BULLS OF PIUS II. AND JULIUS II., WHICH HAVE FORBIDDEN IT.^b

It is, indeed, strange that those Gallican doctors should be ignominiously compelled, through the excess of their

^a Laur. Mosheimii Dissert. de Appel. ad Concil. univ. Ecclesie unitatem spectabilem tollentibus. (Dans l'ouvrage du docteur Marchetti, tom. ii., p. 208.)

^b Fleury on the Liberties of the Gallican Church. Nouv. opusc. Paris, 1807, 12mo. p. 30.

national prejudices, to see themselves refuted at last by Protestant Theologians. Would that such a spectacle had been only once presented !

The innovators Mosheim had in view maintained, "that the Pope has a right only to preside over councils, and that the government of the Church is aristocratic." *But*, says Fleury, *this opinion is condemned at Rome and in France.*

This opinion, therefore, has all the conditions necessary to make it be condemned. But, if the government of the Church is not aristocratic, it follows that it must be monarchical ; and if monarchical, as it certainly and invincibly is, what authority shall receive an appeal from its decisions ?

Endeavour to divide the Christian world into patriarchates, as the schismatical Churches of the East would have it, each patriarch, in this supposition, would have the same privileges which we here attribute to the Pope ; and in like manner none could appeal from his decisions, for there must always be a limit which cannot be overstepped. The sovereignty would be divided, but would always exist ; it would only be necessary to make a change in the Creed, and say, *I believe in divided and independent Churches.*

To this monstrous idea we should find ourselves driven ; but it would ere long be improved upon by temporal princes, who, making very little account of this vain patriarchal division, would establish the independence of their particular churches, and disencumber themselves of the patriarch, as has happened in Russia ; so that, instead of one infallibility, rejected as too sublime a privilege, we should have as many as it would suit policy to create by the division of states. Religious sovereignty, fallen in the first instance from the Pope to patriarchs, would descend afterwards from them to synods, and all would end by Anglican supremacy and pure Protestantism ; an inevitable state of things, and which can only be more or less delayed or avowed wherever the Pope reigns not. Once admit appeal from his decrees, and there is no longer government, unity, or a visible Church.

Because of not having understood these obvious prin-

ciples, have theologians of the first order, such as Bossuet and Fleury, for instance, missed the idea of infallibility, so as to entitle the good sense of laymen to smile as they read them.

The first tells us quite seriously that *the doctrine of infallibility was first broached at the Council of Florence*;* and Fleury still more precisely names the Dominican Cajetan as the author of this doctrine under the pontificate of Julius II.

It cannot be comprehended how men, otherwise so distinguished, have been able to confound two ideas so different as those of *believing* and *maintaining* a dogma.

Wrangling is no attribute of the Catholic Church; she believes without discussion, for *faith is a belief through charity*, and charity argues not.

The Catholic knows that he cannot be deceived; he knows, moreover, that, if he could be led into error, there would no longer be revealed truth, nor assurance for man in this world, since *every divinely-instituted society supposes infallibility*, as Mallebranche has admirably remarked.

The Catholic faith has no need, therefore (and this is its principal characteristic, which has not been sufficiently remarked), to return upon itself, to interrogate itself with regard to its belief, and to ask itself why it believes; it is not possessed with that disputative restlessness by which sects are agitated. Doubt engenders books: why, then, should she write, who never doubts?

But, a stranger though she be to all idea of contention, if any dogma comes to be disputed, she moves from her proper state; she seeks the grounds of the dogma called in question; she interrogates antiquity; she creates words especially, of which her good faith had no need, but which are become necessary to characterize the dogma, and raise between the innovators and her children an everlasting barrier.

I must humbly beg pardon of the illustrious Bossuet; but when he tells us that the doctrine of infallibility was introduced in the fourteenth century, he appears to draw

* Hist. de Bossuet, Pièces justific. du VI^e liv., p. 392.

near to those men whom he has so much and so well combated. Did not Protestants say, also, that the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was not more ancient than the name? And did not the Arians argue, in the same fashion, against *consubstantiality*? Bossuet, may I be permitted to say it, without disrespect to so great a man, was evidently in the wrong on this important point. We must guard against taking a word for the thing expressed, and the commencement of an error for that of a dogma. The truth is precisely the contrary of what Fleury teaches: for it was about the time he assigns that men began not to *believe*, but to *discuss, infallibility*.^a The disputes raised on the supremacy of the Pope, caused the question to be more narrowly inquired into, and the defenders of truth called this supremacy *infallibility*, in order to distinguish it from every other kind of sovereignty; but there is nothing new in the Church, and never will it believe what it has not always believed. Would Bossuet prove to us the novelty of this doctrine, let him assign a period in the history of the Church when the dogmatical decisions of the Holy See were not laws; let him blot out all the writings in which he has maintained the contrary with overwhelming logic, immense erudition, and unrivalled eloquence; above all,

^a The first appeal to a future council is that made by Thaddeus in the name of Frederick II., in 1245. There is said to be some doubt as to this appeal, because it was addressed to *the Pope and a more general council*. It is sought to be shown that the first undoubted appeal is that of Duplessis, made the 13th June, 1303; but it is like to the former, and evinces excessive embarrassment. It is made to *the Council, and to the Holy Apostolic See, and to him and to those* before whom it can and ought to be best carried of right. (Natalis Alex. in sec. xiii. and xiv. art. 5, sec. 11.) In the eighty years which follow are found eight appeals, worded thus: *To the Holy See, to the Sacred College, to the future Pope, to the Pope better informed, to the Council, to the Tribunal of God, to the Most Holy Trinity, to Jesus Christ in fine*. (See Doctor Marchetti, Crit. de Fleury, in appen. pp. 257 and 260.) It is worth while to refer to these absurdities; they prove the novelty of these appeals, as well as the embarrassment of the appellants, who could not more clearly acknowledge the absence of all tribunal superior to the Pope than by wisely appealing to *the Most Holy Trinity*.

let him point out the tribunal which examined these decisions and reformed them.

If, moreover, he grants, proves, demonstrates *that the dogmatical decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs have always been held law in the Church*, let him say as he pleases *that the doctrine of infallibility is new*: what can it matter?

CHAPTER II.

COUNCILS.

VAINLY, in order to preserve unity and a visible tribunal, would recourse be had to councils, the nature and rights of which it is essential we should examine. Let us begin by an observation which admits not of the least doubt, viz., *that a periodical or intermittent sovereignty is a contradiction in terms*; for sovereignty must always live, always watch, always act. *There is no medium for it between life and death.*

Now, councils being occasional powers in the Church; and not only so, but extremely rare and purely accidental, without any periodical and legal return, the government of the Church could not belong to them.

Councils, besides, decide nothing without appeal, unless they be general, and such councils are attended with so much inconvenience, that it cannot have entered into the designs of Providence to confide to them the government of the Church.

In the first ages of Christianity councils were much more easily assembled, because the Church was much less numerous, and because the united powers, accumulated on the heads of the emperors, enabled them to call together a sufficiently great number of bishops, to make at once such an impression as that nothing more was required than the assent of the rest. And, nevertheless, what pains did it not cost—what difficulty was there not in assembling them!

But, in modern times, since the civilized world has been cut up into so many sovereignties, and immensely extended

by our adventurous navigators, an œcumenical council has become an impossibility. Five or six years would not suffice merely to convoke all the bishops, and to establish legal proof of their convocation.

I am almost convinced, that if ever a general council of the Church could appear necessary, which is far, I think, from being probable, it would be determined according to the prevailing ideas of the age, which always exercise a certain influence in affairs, to hold a representative assembly. It being morally, physically, and geographically impossible to assemble all the bishops, why should not each Catholic province send deputies to the states-general of the monarchy? The *commons* never having been called thereto, and the aristocracy being now both too numerous and too widely disseminated to appear in person, what better idea could be fallen upon than a representation of the Episcopacy? It would in reality be nothing else than a form already recognized, but only extended, for in all councils the proxies of the absent have been always received.

In whatever way these holy assemblies be convoked and constituted, the Inspired Writings are far from offering, in support of the authority of councils, any passage comparable to that which establishes the authority and prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff. There is nothing so clear, nothing so magnificent, as the promises contained in this latter text; but if I am told, for instance, *as often as two or three are gathered together in my name I shall be in the midst of them*, I will ask what these words mean, and it will be very difficult to make me see in them any other thing than what I already see, namely, that *God will deign to lend a more particularly merciful ear to every assembly of men gathered together to pray*.

Other passages would present other difficulties; but I pretend not to raise the least doubt in regard to the *infallibility* of a general council; this only I say, that it holds this high privilege of its chief, to whom the promises have been made. We know well that *the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church*. But why? Because of PETER, on whom she is built. Remove this foundation, how should

she be infallible, since she would no longer exist? *To be anything whatever*, it is necessary, if I mistake not, *to be*.

Let us never forget, that no promise was ever made to the Church apart from its head; and reason alone would show this, since the Church, like every other moral body, being incapable of existence without unity, the promises can only have been made to unity, which disappears with the Sovereign Pontiff.

CHAPTER III.

DEFINITION AND AUTHORITY OF COUNCILS.

THUS œcumenical councils are nothing else than *the parliament or states-general of the Church, assembled by the authority and under the presidency of the Sovereign.*

Wherever there is a Sovereign, and in the Catholic economy his existence is undeniable, there can be no legitimate national assemblies without him. No sooner is his veto pronounced, than the assembly is dissolved, or its co-legislative power suspended; if it resists, there is revolution.

This very simple and undoubted truth, which never can be shaken, shows in its full light the extreme absurdity of the question so much discussed: *whether the Pope be above the council, or the council above the Pope?* For it is the same as to inquire, in other words, *whether the Pope be above the Pope, or the council above the council?*

I firmly believe, with Leibnitz, *that God has hitherto preserved the truly œcumenical councils from all error contrary to sound doctrine.*^a I believe, moreover, that He will always so preserve them; but, since there can be no œcumenical council without the Pope, what signifies the question, *whether it be above or inferior to the Pope?*

Is the king of Great Britain superior to the parliament,

^a Leibnitz, *Nouv. Essais sur l'Entend. Humain*, p. 461 et suiv. *Pensées*, tom. ii. p. 45. N.B. The word *truly* is here made use of to exclude the Council of Trent, in his celebrated correspondence with Bossuet.

or is the parliament above the king? Neither way; but the king and the parliament, united, constitute the legislature or the sovereignty; but there is not an inhabitant of the three kingdoms who would not rather have his country governed by a king without a parliament than by a parliament without a king.

The question, therefore, is precisely what in English is called *nonsense*.^a

Although I do not by any means think of disputing the high prerogative of general councils, I do not the less understand the immense inconvenience of those great assemblies, and the abuse to which they were subjected in the first ages of the Church. The Grecian emperors, whose theological dynasty is one of the great scandals of history, were always ready to convoke councils; and, when they absolutely willed it, there was no help but consent, for the Church ought not to refuse to sovereignty, which obstinately insists, anything that only occasions inconvenience. Modern incredulity has often been pleased to point out the influence exercised by princes over councils, in order to make us despise those assemblies, or to separate them from the authority of the Pope. It has been answered thousands of times in regard to both of these false conclusions; but, let it say what it will on this subject, nothing is more indifferent to the Catholic Church, which ought not to be, and cannot be, governed by councils. The emperors, in the first ages of the Church, had only to will it, in order to call together a council, and they willed it but too often. The bishops, on their side, became accustomed to look upon those assemblies as a permanent tribunal, always open to zeal and to doubt; hence the frequent mention they make of them in their writings, and the extreme importance they attached to them. But if they had beheld other times, if they had reflected on the dimensions of the globe, and if they had foreseen what was destined to happen one day in the world,

^a Not that I pretend to liken in everything the government of the Church to that of Great Britain, where the states-general are permanent. I only adopt whatever in the comparison tends to support my argument.

they would have well understood that an accidental tribunal, depending on the caprice of princes, and on meetings exceedingly rare and difficult, could not have been chosen to govern the eternal and universal Church.

When, therefore, Bossuet inquires—with that tone of superiority less unpardonable, to be sure, in him than any other man—“*why so many councils, if the decision of the Popes always sufficed to the Church?*” Cardinal Orsi makes an admirable reply:—“Ask not us, ask not the Popes Damasus, Celestine, Agatho, Adrian, Leo, who have condemned all heresies from Arius to Eutyches, with the consent of the Church, or of an immense majority, and who never imagined that œcumenical councils were necessary to repress them. Inquire of the Greek emperors, who absolutely willed there should be councils, who convoked them, who exacted the assent of the Popes, and excited so much useless disturbance in the Church.”^a

To the Sovereign Pontiff alone belongs essentially the right of convoking general councils, which does not exclude the moderate and legitimate influence of sovereigns. He alone is judge of the circumstances which require this extreme remedy. Those who pretended to assign this power to temporal authority, quite overlooked the strange paralogism into which they fell. They suppose an universal and (what is more) an everlasting monarchy; they go back, without reflecting, to those times when all the mitres in the world could be called together by one sceptre only, or by two. “*The Emperor alone,*” says Fleury, “*was able to convoke general councils, because he alone could command the bishops to undertake extraordinary journeys. He, for the most part, defrayed the expenses of them, and indicated the place they were to be held in. . . . The Popes confined themselves to asking for these assemblies, . . . and they often asked without obtaining.*”^b

Well! here is another proof that the Church cannot be

^a Joseph. Aug. Orsi De irreformabili Rom. Pontificis in definiendis fidei controversiis judicio. Romæ, 1772, 4to., tom. iii., lib. ii. cap. xx. pp. 181, 384.

^b Nouv. Opusc. de Fleury, p. 138.

governed by general councils—God, the author of nature and of the Church, not having been able to put the laws of his Church in contradiction with those of nature.

Political sovereignty being essentially neither indivisible nor perpetual, if we refuse to the Pope the right of convoking general councils, to whom shall we grant it? Would his most Christian Majesty summon the bishops of England, or his Britannic Majesty those of France? See how these vain talkers have abused history! and, worse still! behold them combating the very nature of things, which absolutely requires, independently of all theological views, that an œcumenical council cannot be otherwise convoked than by an œcumenical power.

But how could men, subject to a power—and subject they are, since it convokes them—be superior to that power, although separated from it? The mere uttering of this proposition demonstrates its absurdity.

It may be said, nevertheless, and quite truly in one sense, *that a general council is above the Pope*; for, as there could be no council of this nature without the Pope, if it be said that the Pope and the whole Episcopacy are above the Pope—or, in other words, that the Pope *alone* cannot revise a dogma decided by himself and the bishops assembled in general council—the Pope and sound sense alike admit the proposition.

But that the bishops, separated from the Pope, and in opposition to him, are above him, is what cannot but be looked upon, even in the least unfavourable view, as extravagant.

And the first supposition, even if not rigidly restricted to dogma, no longer satisfies good faith, and allows a crowd of difficulties to remain.

Where is sovereignty in the long intervals between œcumenical councils? Why should not the Pope have power to abrogate or change what he might have done in council, provided there be not question of dogmas, and if circumstances imperiously require it? If the wants of the Church called for one of those great measures which admit of no delay, as we have seen twice over in the course

of the French Revolution,* what should be done? Supposing the judgments of the Pope can only be reformed by a general council, who will summon together the council? If the Pope refuses, who will oblige him? And, in the meantime, how will the Church be governed, &c. &c.?

All these considerations recall us to the decision of sound sense, dictated by the clearest analogy, *that the Bull of the Pope*, speaking alone from his chair, differs only from canons pronounced in general council—as, for instance, an ordinance of the *Marine*, or of the *Waters and Forests*, differed, in regard to the French people, from one of Blois or of Orleans.

The Pope, in order to dissolve the council, in as far as it is a council, has only to leave the room, saying: “*I am no longer of it.*” From that moment it is no longer anything but *an assembly*, and an unlawful one if it persists. I never could understand the French when they affirm that the decrees of a general council have the force of law, independently of the acceptation or confirmation of the Sovereign Pontiff.^b

If they mean to say that the decrees of the council having been made under the presidency and with the approbation of the Pope or his legates, the Bull of approbation or confirmation which concludes the acts, is no longer anything else than a matter of form, we can understand them (still, however, as cavillers); if they would say anything beyond this, they are no longer to be borne with.

But it will be said, perhaps, as is the fashion with modern wranglers, if the Pope became heretical, mad, an enemy of the rights of the Church, &c., where would be the remedy?

* First, at the time of the Constitutional Church and of the civic oath. The respectable prelates, who believed themselves bound to resist the Pope at this latter epoch, believed that the question was, *whether the Pope was mistaken*; whilst the point really was, to know *whether they were bound to obey, even in the case that he was wrong*. This would have much abridged the discussion.

^b Bergier, Dict. Theol., art. Conciles, No. IV.; but lower down, at No. V. sect. 3, he classes among the marks of oecumenicity convocation by the Sovereign Pontiff, or his consent.

I answer, in the first place, that the men who, in our days, delight in such suppositions—although, during eighteen hundred and thirty-six years, none of them have ever been realized—are either exceedingly simple or culpably blind.

In the second place, and under all imaginable suppositions, I ask in my turn: What would be done if the king of Great Britain were so far indisposed as to be no longer able to perform his functions? What has been done in the case would be done again, or perhaps something else; but would it follow, by any chance, that the parliament was above the king, or that it could be convoked by others than the king, &c. &c. &c.?

The more attentively we examine the subject, the more we shall be convinced that, *notwithstanding* the councils, and *by virtue* even of the councils, without the Papal monarchy the Church no longer exists.

We may satisfy ourselves as to this by a very simple hypothesis. It is sufficient to suppose that the separated Eastern Church (all the dogmas of which were then attacked as well as our own) had been assembled in œcumenical council at Constantinople, at Smyrna, or elsewhere, in order to pronounce anathema against the recent errors, whilst we were assembled at Trent for the same purpose: where would the Church have been? Remove the Pope, and no answer can be given.

And if the Indies, Africa, and America—which I shall suppose to be likewise peopled with Christians of the same description—had adopted the same measure, the difficulty becomes greater, confusion increases, and the Church disappears.

Let it be observed, moreover, that the œcumenical character in regard to councils does not arise from the number of bishops which compose them; it is sufficient that all be convoked: then come who will. There were one hundred and eighty bishops at Constantinople in 381, there were a thousand at Rome in 1139, and ninety-five only in the same city in 1512, including the cardinals. Nevertheless, all these are general councils: a clear proof that councils

derive their power only from their chief; for, if councils had inherent and independent authority, the numbers constituting them could not be indifferent—all the more that, in this case, the acceptance of the Church is no longer necessary, and that decrees once pronounced are irrevocable. We have seen the number of voters decrease as far as eighty; but, as there are neither canons nor customs which assign limits to the number, I am quite at liberty to diminish it to fifty, and even as low as ten; and what man, let him be but moderately reasonable, will be made to believe that so small a number of bishops has a right to command the Pope and the Church?

This is not all. If, on occasion of any urgent want of the Church, the same zeal which animated of old the Emperor Sigismund took possession at the same time of several princes, and that each one of them at the same time called together a council, where would be the œcumenical council and infallibility?

The state of temporal affairs will present farther analogies.

CHAPTER IV.

ANALOGIES DERIVED FROM TEMPORAL POWER.

SUPPOSE that, during an *interregnum*, there being no king of France, or the succession doubtful, the states-general were divided in opinion, and shortly afterwards literally separated, so as that there should be states-general at Paris and others at Lyons or elsewhere: *where would be the kingdom of France?* This is the same question as the preceding: *where would the Church be?* And, in either case, no answer can be given until the Pope or the king pronounce, "*It is here.*" Remove the *Queen-bee*, you will still have bees in abundance; but a hive, never.

In order to escape the comparison of national assemblies, which is so urgent, so luminous, so decisive, our modern cavillers have objected that *there is no parity between the councils of the Church and the states-general, because the*

latter possessed only the right of representation. What sophistry! what dishonesty! How can they fail to see that there is question here of states-general such as the argument requires? I enter not, therefore, into the inquiry whether they had a right to co-legislative power; I suppose them possessed of this privilege: and what is wanting in the comparison? Are not the œcumenical councils ecclesiastical states-general, and are not the states-general political œcumenical councils? Are they not co-legislative, according to our supposition, until they separate, without being so a moment after? Do not their power, their validity, their moral and legislative existence, depend on the sovereign who presides over them? Do they not become seditious, *separate*, and consequently null, the moment they act without him? And as soon as they are dispersed, does not the fulness of legislative power devolve on the person of the sovereign?

Does the ordinance of Blois, of Moulins, or of Orleans, impair in the least that of the *Marine*, the *Woods and Waters*, &c.?

If there be any difference between the states and general councils, it is wholly to the advantage of the former; for there may be states-general, in the *literal sense of the term*, because they relate only to one empire, and because all the provinces of that empire are represented in them; whilst a general council, *in the literal sense of the term*, is absolutely impossible, considering the great number of sovereignties and the dimensions of the terrestrial globe, the superficies of which is well known to be equal to four great circles, each three thousand leagues in diameter.

If it were remarked that, as the states-general are not permanent, can only be convoked by a superior, can only decide in accordance with him, and cease to exist at the last session, there necessarily results from this (without taking anything else into consideration), that they are not co-legislative in the full force of the term, I should have very little difficulty in replying to this objection; for it would not be less certain that the states-general may be absolutely useless during the time they are assembled, and

that all the while the sovereign legislator acts in concert with them.

I should be entitled, nevertheless, to speak as unfavourably of councils as Gregory Nazianzen has done : “ *I never saw,*” said this great and holy personage, “ *a council assembled without danger and inconvenience. . . . To speak truly, I must say that I avoid, as much as I can, assemblies of priests and bishops ; I never saw so much as one concluded in a happy and agreeable manner, and which did not tend rather to increase evils than to remove them.*”^a

But I will not urge this argument ; all the more, that the holy doctor, whose words I have just quoted, has, if I mistake not, explained his meaning. Councils may be useful. They would exist by natural, if not by ecclesiastical right, there being nothing so natural, in theory particularly, as that every human association should assemble as it best may—that is, by its representatives, under the presidency of a chief—in order to make laws, and watch over the interests of the community. I by no means contest this point ; I only say that an intermittent representative body (if, especially, it be casual and not periodical) is, by the very nature of things, always and everywhere unfit to govern ; and that during its sessions, even, it has no existence and legitimacy except through its chief.

Let us transfer to England the political schism I have just supposed in France. Let the parliament be divided : where will be the true one ? With the king. But if it were doubtful who should be king, there would no longer be a *parliament*, but only *assemblies* endeavouring to find a king ; and, if they could not agree, there would be war and anarchy. Let us make a supposition still more to the point, and admit only an assembly : never will it be *parliament* until it has found the king ; but it will exercise lawfully all the powers necessary to attain this great end ; for those powers, simply because they are necessary, are founded on natural right. As it is impossible for a nation to be literally assembled, it must act through its representatives. At all periods of anarchy, a certain number of

^a Greg. Naz. epist. lv. ad Procop.

men will seize on power, for the purpose of establishing order in some way; and if this assembly, retaining the ancient name and forms, enjoyed, moreover, the consent of the nation, manifested at least by its silence, it would possess all the legitimacy such unfortunate circumstances admit of.

But if the monarchy, instead of being hereditary, were elective, and that there were several competitors elected by different parties, the assembly ought either to declare who should be king, if it discovered in favour of one of them obvious grounds of preference; or, if it saw no such decisive grounds, set them all aside and elect another.

But here would be the limits of its power. If it assumed the liberty of making other laws, the king, immediately after his accession, would have a right to reject them; for the words *anarchy* and *laws* mutually exclude one another, and everything done in the former state can only have a momentary value, arising merely from circumstances.

If the king found several things done in a parliamentary manner—that is, according to the principles of the constitution—he could give the royal sanction to these various dispositions, which would become laws, binding even on the king—who is, and on that account particularly, the *image of God upon earth*; for, according to the beautiful thought of Seneca, “God obeys laws, but it was He who made them.”

And in this sense the law might be said to be *above the king*, as a general council is *above the Pope*; that is to say, that neither the king nor the Sovereign Pontiff can recall what has been done in a parliamentary manner, and by a council; in other words, by themselves *in parliament* and *in council*—which, far from weakening the idea of monarchy, completes it, on the contrary, and carries it to its highest degree of perfection, by excluding all accessory notion of despotism or of inconstancy.

Hume has made a brutal remark on the Council of Trent, which it is worth while, nevertheless, to take into consideration:—“It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquisitive. No one

need expect to see another general council till the decay of learning and the progress of ignorance shall again fit mankind for these great impostures." ^a

If you take from this passage the insulting and scurrilous tone from which heresy is never free, ^b there remains a good deal that is true: the more enlightened the world becomes, the less will a general council be thought of. There have just been twenty-one the whole time since the origin of Christianity, which would give about one general council to each period of eighty years; but we see that for two centuries and a half religion has done very well without them; and I do not believe that any one thinks of them, notwithstanding the extraordinary wants of the Church, for which the Pope will provide much better than a general council, if men only understand how to make use of his power.

The world is become too great for general councils, which seem only to have been intended for the youth of Christianity.

CHAPTER V.

DIGRESSION ON WHAT IS CALLED THE YOUTH OF NATIONS.

BUT this word *youth* reminds me of what ought to be observed here: that this expression, and some others of

^a Hume's Elizabeth, 1653, chap. xxxix. note K.

^b I recommend this observation to the attention of all thinking men. Truth in combating error never grows angry. In the enormous press of our controversial writings it requires a microscope to discover any sallies of ill humour proceeding from human weakness. Such men as Bellarmin, Bossuet, &c., have been able to combat all their lifetime without permitting themselves, I say not an insult, but even the slightest personality. Protestant doctors share this privilege, and deserve the same praise whenever they combat incredulity; but in this case it is the Christian who does battle with the Deist, the Materialist, the Atheist, and, consequently, it is still truth combating error, but the moment they turn against the Roman Catholic Church they insult; for error is never calm in contending with truth. This twofold character is visible as it is decisive. There are few demonstrations that speak so directly to conscience.

the same kind, relate to the whole duration of a body or an individual. If I picture to myself, for instance, the Roman republic, which lasted five hundred years, I know what these expressions mean: *the youth, or the earliest years of the Roman republic*; and if there be question of a man who is to live about eighty years, I shall be guided in this case also by the total duration, and it is obvious that if man lived a thousand years, he would be young at two hundred. What, then, is the youth of a religion that is destined to last as long as the world? There is much said about the *first ages of Christianity*. In truth, I know not what assurance we have that they are past. Whatever may be the case, there cannot be a more fallacious argument than that which would recall us to the first ages without knowing what is said.

It would be better to say, perhaps, that in one sense the Church never grows old. The Christian religion is the only institution which knows no decay, because it alone is Divine. As to externals, practices, ceremonies, it makes allowance more or less for human variations. But in things essential it is always the same,—“*its years shall not fail.*” Thus, rather than overthrow the laws of the human race, it will allow itself to be obscured by the barbarism of the middle ages; but it produces, nevertheless, in those times, a multitude of superior men, who from it alone derive their superiority. It renews itself afterwards together with mankind, accompanies them, perfects them in their various relations—differing thus, and that in a striking manner, from all human institutions and empires, even, which have their infancy, their manhood, their old age, and their end.

Without urging these observations, let us not speak so much (now that the world is grown so great) of the *first ages*, or of *œcumenical councils*; particularly let us avoid dwelling on the *first ages*, as if time had any hold on the Church. The wounds inflicted on her proceed only from our vices; centuries, as they glide past, can only promote her improvement.

I shall not conclude this chapter without declaring anew,

in express terms, my perfect orthodoxy on the subject of general councils. It is quite possible, no doubt, that certain circumstances may render them necessary; and I am far from denying, for instance, that the Council of Trent accomplished things which it alone could accomplish. But never will the Sovereign Pontiff show himself more infallible than in deciding the question whether a council is indispensable, and never can temporal power do better than refer to him the decision of this question.

The French people are not aware, perhaps, that the most reasonable thing that can be said in regard to the Pope and general councils has been written by two French theologians, in two passages of a few lines, distinguished by good sense and ingenuity,—passages well known and appreciated in Italy by the wisest defenders of legitimate monarchy. Let us hear, in the first place, the great champion of the sixteenth century:—

“By the infallibility which is supposed to belong to Pope Clement, as to the sovereign tribunal of the Church, is not understood that he is assisted by the Spirit of God, so as to have the light necessary for deciding all questions whatsoever; but his infallibility consists in this, that he is privileged to judge all questions in regard to which he feels himself sufficiently enlightened to decide; whilst those in regard to which he does not conceive himself sufficiently enlightened to pass judgment, he refers to the council.”^a

This is exactly the theory of states-general, which every right-thinking mind is constantly obliged to adopt.

Ordinary questions, in regard to which the king knows that he is sufficiently aided with light, he decides himself; others, in regard to which he does not understand that he is sufficiently enlightened, he refers to the states-general over which he presides. But he is always sovereign.

The other French theologian is Thomassin, who thus expresses himself in one of his learned dissertations:—

“Let us no longer contend whether an œcumenical council is superior or inferior to the Pope. Let us be satisfied

^a Perroniana, article *Infallibility*.

to know that the Pope, in the midst of the council, is above himself ; and that the council, deprived of its chief, is beneath itself." ^a

Never was language more to the purpose. Thomassin, particularly, embarrassed by the declaration of 1682, has acquitted himself admirably, and has given us to understand sufficiently well what he thought of *beheaded* councils ; and the two passages united concur with many others in making known to us the *universal* and *invariable* doctrine of the clergy of France, so often invoked by the apostles of the four articles.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPREMACY OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF RECOGNIZED IN EVERY AGE: CATHOLIC TESTIMONIES OF THE CHURCHES OF THE WEST AND THE EAST.

NOTHING in all ecclesiastical history is so invincibly demonstrated—for conscience, especially, which never disputes—as the monarchical supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff. It was not, indeed, at its origin, what it became some centuries later ; but in this precisely does it show itself divine: for everything that exists legitimately and for ages, exists at first in germ, and is developed successively. ^b

Bossuet has most happily expressed this germ of unity, and all the privileges of the Chair of St. Peter, already visible in the person of his predecessor :—

“ Peter,” he says, “ appears the first in every way : the first in making profession of faith, the first in the obligation of exercising charity, the first of all the apostles

^a Ne digladiemur major synodo Pontifex, vel Pontifice synodus œcumenica sit, sed agnoscamus succenturiatum synodo Pontificem se ipso majorem esse ; TRUNCATAM PONTIFICE synodum se ipsâ esse minorem.

Thomassin, in Dissert. de Conc. Chalced. No. XIV. Orsi, de Rom. Pont. Auctor. lib. i. cap. xv. art. iii. p. 100 ; et lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 184. Romæ, 1772, 4to.

^b See this principle established in the author's work on *the Regenerative Principle of Human Institutions*.

who saw our Saviour risen from the dead, as he was also his first witness before all the people ; the first when there was question of filling up the number of the apostles, the first to confirm the faith by a miracle, the first to convert the Jews, the first to receive the Gentiles, the first everywhere. But it is impossible to say all ; everything concurs in establishing his primacy ; yes, everything, even his faults.

. . . The power given to several is not bestowed without restriction, whilst that given to one alone, and *over all*, and *without exception*, is communicated in full ; . . . all receive the same power, but not in the same degree, nor to the same extent. Jesus Christ begins by the first, and in this first he develops all the rest, . . . in order to teach us that ecclesiastical authority first established in the person of one, has only been disseminated on condition of being always recalled to its principle of unity, and that all those who shall have to exercise it, ought to hold themselves inseparably united with the same chair.” *

He then proceeds in his voice of thunder :—

“It is that chair so celebrated by the Fathers of the Church, in exalting which they have vied with one another, attributing to it the principality of the apostolic chair, the chief principality, the source of unity, the highest degree of sacerdotal dignity ; the Mother Church, which holds in her hand the conduct of all other churches ; the head of the Episcopate, whence proceeds the light of government ; the principal chair, the only chair, through which alone all are able to preserve unity. In these words you hear St. Optatus, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Irenæus, St. Prosper, St. Avitus, St. Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the other councils ; Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia, the East and the West, united together. . . . Since it was the design of God to permit that there should arise schisms and heresies, there was no constitution that could sustain itself more firmly, or more powerfully bear them down. By this constitution everything in the Church is strong, because everything therein is divine and united ; and, as each part is divine, the bond also is divine, and all together is such,

* Sermon sur l'Unité, Part I.

that each part acts with the power of the whole. . . . For this reason our predecessors declared . . . *that they acted in the name of St. Peter, by the authority given to all the bishops, in the person of St. Peter, as vicars of St. Peter*; and they spoke thus, even when they acted by their ordinary and subordinate authority: because all was committed, in the first place, to St. Peter; and because such is the correspondence of one part with another, throughout the whole body of the Church, that, what each bishop does according to the rule and in the spirit of Catholic unity, the whole Church, the whole Episcopate, and the chief of the Episcopate do together with him."

One can scarcely venture now to cite the texts which incontestably establish the Pope's supremacy in every age, from the cradle of Christianity to our own days. Those texts are so well known, that they belong to all; and one appears, in quoting them, only to make a vain parade of erudition. Nevertheless, how refuse, in a work like this, to cast a rapid glance at those precious monuments of the most pure tradition?

Long before the end of the persecutions, and before the Church (perfectly free, as yet, in its communications) could bear testimony, without embarrassment, to its belief by a sufficiently great number of external and palpable acts, Irenæus, who had conversed with the disciples of the apostles, appealed already to the Chair of St. Peter as his rule of faith, and acknowledged this governing primacy (*Ἡγεμονία*), even then so famous in the Church.

Tertullian, so early as the end of the second century, exclaims: "Behold an edict, and even a peremptory edict, emanated from the *Sovereign Pontiff*, the BISHOP OF BISHOPS."^a

This same Tertullian, so near the tradition of apostolic times, and who, before his fall, so carefully collected it,

^a Tertull. De Pudicitia, cap. i. Audio edictum et quidem peremptorium: Pontifex scilicet maximus, episcopus episcoporum dicit, &c. (Tertull. Oper. Paris, 1808, folio, edit. Pamelli, p. 999.) Le ton irrité, et même un peu sarcastique, ajoute sans doute au poids du témoignage.

said: "The Lord has given the keys to Peter, and, THROUGH HIM, to the Church."^a

Optatus of Milevis repeats: "St. Peter has ALONE received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, *in order to communicate them to the other pastors.*"^b

St. Cyprian, after having quoted the ever-memorable words: "*Thou art Peter,*" &c., adds: "From that source flow the ordination of bishops and the form of the Church."^c

St. Augustine, instructing his people, and with them the whole Church, does not express himself less clearly: "The Lord," says he, "has confided to us his sheep, *because he has confided them to Peter.*"^d

St. Ephrem, in Syria, speaks of a simple bishop as "occupying the place of Peter;"^e because he considered the Holy See the source of the Episcopate.

St. Gaudentius, speaking from the same idea, calls St. Ambrose *the successor of Peter.*^f

Peter of Blois writes to a bishop: "Father, call to mind that you are *the vicar of the blessed Peter.*"^g

And all the bishops of a council of Paris declare that they are only *the vicars of the prince of the apostles.*^h

St. Gregory of Nyssa confesses the same doctrine in presence of the Eastern Church: "Jesus Christ," says he,

^a Memento claves Dominum Petro, et PER EUM Ecclesiæ reliquisse.—Idem, Scorpiac, cap. x. Oper. ejusd. ibid.

^b Bono unitatis B. Petrus, . . . et præferri apostolis omnibus meruit, et claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris solus accepit.—Lib. vii. contra Parmenianum, No. 3, Oper. S. Opt. p. 104.

^c Inde. . . episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiarum ratio decurrit.—Cyp. epist. xxxiii. ed. Paris xxvii. Pamel. Oper. S. Cyp. p. 216.

^d Commendavit nobis Dominus oves suas, quia Petro commendavit.—Serm. ccxcvi. No. XI. Oper. tom. v. col. 1202.

^e Basilii locum Petri obtinens, &c.—S. Ephrem. Oper. p. 725.

^f Tanquam Petri successor, &c.—Gaud. Brix. Tract. hab. in die suæ ordin. Magna biblioth. PP. tom. ii. col. 59, folio, Paris.

^g Recolite, pater, quia beati Petri vicarius estis.—Epist. cxlviii. Op. Petri Blesensis, p. 233.

^h Dominus B. Petro cujus vices indigni gerimus, ait: Quodcumque ligaveris, &c.—Concil. Paris. vi. tom. vii. Concil. col. 1661.

"has given, THROUGH PETER, to the bishops, the keys of the kingdom of heaven." ^a

And now that we have learned the doctrine in regard to this point of Africa, Syria, Asia-Minor, and France, we rejoice all the more to hear a holy and learned Scotchman declare, in the sixth century, "*that bad bishops usurp the Chair of St. Peter.*" ^b

So persuaded were men everywhere that the whole Episcopate was, as it were, concentrated in the See of Peter, from which it emanated!

This faith was that of the Holy See itself. Innocent I. wrote thus to the bishops of Africa: "You are not ignorant of what is due to the Apostolic See, *whence proceed the Episcopate and all its authority.* . . . When questions on faith are agitated, I think that our brethren and fellow-bishops ought only, in regard to them, to refer to Peter, that is to say, *to the author of their name and of their dignity.*" ^c

And, in his letter to Victor of Rouen, he says: "I shall commence, with the assistance of the apostle St. Peter, by whom the Apostolate and the Episcopate began in Jesus Christ." ^d

St. Leo, faithful depositary of the same maxims, declares that all the gifts of Jesus Christ *have only reached the bishops through Peter,* ^e . . . *in order that from him, as*

^a Per Petrum episcopis dedit Christus claves cœlestium bonorum.—Op. S. Greg. Nyss. edit. Paris, folio, tom. iii. p. 314.

^b Sedem Petri apostoli immundis pedibus . . . usurpantes. . . . Judam quodammodo in PETRI CATHEDRA . . . statuunt.—Gildæ sapientis presb. in Eccles. ordinem acris correptio. Biblioth. PP. Lugd. folio, tom. viii. p. 715.

^c Scientes quid apostolicæ sedi, quum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideremus apostolum, debeat, à quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas hujus nominis emerit.—Epist. xxix.

Inn. I. ad Conc. Carth. No. I. inter epist. Rom. Pont. edit. D. Constant, col. 388.

^d Per quem (Petrum) et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo cepit exordium.—Ibid. col. 747.

^e Nunquam nisi per ipsum (Petrum) dedit quidquid, aliis non negavit.—S. Leo. serm. iv. in ann. assumpt. Oper. edit. Bellarini, tom. ii. col. 16.

from the head, all divine gifts should be diffused over the whole body. ^a

I take pleasure in bringing together, at first, the passages which establish the ancient faith on the great axiom that is so terrible to innovators.

And now, taking up in order the most striking testimonies that occur to me on the general question, I hear, in the first place, St. Cyprian declare, in the middle of the third century, that there *were heresies* and schisms in the Church, only because all eyes were not directed to the Priest of God, to the Pontiff who judges in the Church **IN THE PLACE OF JESUS CHRIST.** ^b

In the fourth century, Pope Anastasius calls all Christian people, "*my people,*" and all Christian Churches, "*members of my proper body.*" ^c

And, a few years later, Pope St. Celestine called those same Churches, "*our members.*" ^d

The Pope St. Julius writes to the partisans of Eusebius : "*Do you not know that it is the custom to write to us, in the first place, and that here decision is given according to justice ?*"

And some bishops of the Eastern Church, unjustly dispossessed, having had recourse to this Pope, who restored them to their sees, as well as St. Anastasius, the historian who relates this fact, observes *that the care of the whole Church belongs to the Pope, because of the dignity of his see.* ^e

Towards the middle of the fifth century, St. Leo says to

^a Ut ab ipso (Petro) quasi quodam capite dona sua velit in corpus omne manare.—S. Leo. epist. x. ad Episc. prov. Vienn. cap. i. col. 633.

Je dois ces précieuses citations au savant auteur de la Tradition de l'Eglise sur l'Institution des Evêques, qui les a rassemblées avec beaucoup de goût (Introduction, p. xxxiii).

^b Neque aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm dum SACERDOTI DEI non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus judex VICE CHRISTI cogitatur.—S. Cyp. epist. lv.

^c Epist. Anast. ad Joh. Hieron. apud Const. Epist. Decret. folio, p. 739.—Voy. les Vies des SS. trad. de l'Ang. d'Alban Butler, par M. l'Abbé Godescard, 8vo. tom. iii. p. 689.

^d Ibid.

^e Epist. Rom. Pont. tom. i. Sozomène, liv. iii. cap. 8.

the council of Chalcedon, reminding them of his letter to Flavian : “ *There is not question of discussing audaciously, but of believing ; my letter to Flavian, of happy memory, having fully and most clearly decided all that is of faith on the mystery of the incarnation.* ”^a

And Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, having been previously condemned by the Holy See, the legates—refusing to permit that he should take his seat among the bishops pending the judgment of the council—declare, to the commissaries of the emperor, *that if Dioscorus does not quit the assembly, they will leave it themselves.*^b

Among the six hundred bishops who heard this letter read, no voice protested ; and from this very council proceeded with acclamation those celebrated words which have since continued to resound throughout the Church : “ Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo, Peter always lives in his see.”

And in this same council, Lucentius, legate of the same Pope, said : “ *They have dared to hold a council without the authority of the Holy See, WHICH WAS NEVER DONE, and is not permitted.* ”^c

This is the repetition of what Pope Celestine said not long beforehand to his legates, when setting out for the general council of Ephesus : “ *If opinions are divided, remember that you are there to judge, not to dispute.* ”^d

The Pope, as is well known, had himself convoked the

^a Unde, fratres charissimi, rejectâ penitûs audaciâ disputandi contra fidem divinitûs inspiratam, vana errantium infidelitas conquiescat, nec liceat defendi quod non licet credi, &c.

^b Si ergo præcipit vestra magnificentia, aut ille egrediatur, aut nos eximus.—Sac. Conc. tom. iv.

^c Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. xxviii. No. 11. Fleury, qui travaillait à bâtons rompus, oublia ce texte et un autre tout semblable. (Liv. xii. No. 10.) Et il nous dit hardiment, dans son IV^e disc. sur l’Hist. Ecclés. No. 11 : Vous qui avez lu cette histoire, vous n’y avez rien vu de semblable. M. le Docteur Marchetti prend la liberté de le citer lui-même à lui-même (Critica, &c. tom. i. art. sec. i. pp. 20 et 21).

^d Ad disputationem si ventum fuerit, vos de eorum sententiis dijudicare debetis, non subire certamen.—Voy. les Actes du Conc.

Council of Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century ; and meanwhile, the twenty-eighth canon having accorded the second place to the patriarchal See of Constantinople, St. Leo rejected it. In vain the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria, and the Patriarch Anatolius address to him on this head the most pressing representations ; the Pope remains inflexible. He says that the third canon of the first council of C. P., which had previously attributed that place to the Patriarch of C. P., had never been sent to the Holy See. He quashes and declares null, *by apostolical authority*, the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. The Patriarch submits, and agrees that the Pope was entitled to his obedience.^a

The Pope had himself previously convoked the second council of Ephesus ; and nevertheless he annulled it, in refusing it his approbation.^b

At the commencement of the sixth century, the Bishop of Patara, in Lycia, said to the Emperor Justinian : “ There may be several sovereigns on the earth, but there is only one Pope over all the Churches of the universe.”^c

In the seventh century, St. Maximus writes, in a work against the Monothelites : “ If Pyrrhus pretends not to be a heretic, let him not lose his time exculpating himself before a multitude of people, but prove his innocence to the blessed Pope of the most holy Roman Church—that is, to the Apostolic See—to which belong government, authority, and power to bind and to loose over all the churches that are in the world, IN ALL THINGS AND IN EVERY WAY.”^d

^a De là vient que le XXVIII^e canon de Chalcedoine n’a jamais été mis dans les collections, pas même par les Orientaux : Ob Leonis reprobationem.—Marca. de Vet. Can. Coll. cap. iii. sect. xvii.

Voyez encore M. le Docteur Marchetti, Appendice alla Critica di Fleury, tom. ii. p. 236.

^b Zacharia, Anti-Febronio, tom. ii. 8vo. cap. xi. No. 3.

^c Liberat. in Breviar. de Causâ Nest. et Eutyech. Paris, 1675, 8vo. c. xxii. p. 775.

^d IN OMNIBUS ET PER OMNIA. S. Maxime, abbé de Chrysophe, était né à C. P., en 480. Ejus op. Græcè et Latinè. Paris, 1575, 1 vol. fol. Biblioth. PP. tom. xi. p. 76. Fleury, après avoir

In the middle of this same century the bishops of Africa, met in council, said to Pope Theodore, in a synodal letter : “ Our ancient laws have decided that, of all that is done, even in the most remote countries, nothing ought to be examined or admitted before your illustrious See have taken it into consideration.”^a

At the end of the same century, the Fathers of the sixth general council (third of C. P.) receive in the fourth session the letter of Pope Agatho, which says to the council : “ Never has the Apostolic Church strayed in the least from the path of truth. The whole Catholic Church, all the œcumenical councils, have always embraced its doctrine as that of THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES.”

And the Fathers reply : “ Yes ! such is the true rule of faith. Religion has always remained unchangeable in the Apostolic See. We promise to separate henceforth from Catholic communion all who shall dare not to agree with that Church.” The Patriarch of C. P. adds : “ I have subscribed this profession of faith with my own hand.”^b

St. Theodore Studites said to Pope Leo III., at the beginning of the ninth century : “ They have not feared to

promis de donner un extrait de ce qu'il y a de remarquable dans l'ouvrage de S. Maxime qui a fourni cette citation, passe en entier sous silence tout le passage qu'on vient de lire. Le Docteur Marchetti le lui reproche justement. (Critica, &c. tom. i. cap. ii. p. 107.)

^a Antiquis regulis sancitum est ut quidquid, quamvis in remotis vel in longinquis agatur provinciis, non prius tractandum vel accipiendum sit, nisi ad notitiam almæ Sedis vestræ fuisset deductum. Fleury traduit : “ Les trois primats écrivirent en commun une lettre synodale au Pape Théodore, au nom de tous les évêques de leurs provinces, où, après avoir reconnu l'autorité du Saint-Siège, ils se plaignent de la nouveauté qui a paru à C. P.” (Hist. Eccles. liv. xxxviii. No. 41.) La traduction ne sera pas trouvée servile.

^b Huic professioni subscripsi meâ manu, &c.—Joh. episc. C. P. (Voy. le tom. v. des Conc. édit. de Coletti, col. 622.) Bossuet appelle cette déclaration du VI^e concile général, un formulaire approuvé par toute l'Eglise Catholique (formulam totâ Ecclesiâ comprobata); le Saint-Siège, en vertu des promesses de son divin Fondateur, ne pouvant jamais faillir.—Defensio Cleri Gallicani, lib. xv. cap. vii.

hold an heretical council of their own authority, without your permission ; whilst they could not hold even an orthodox one without your knowledge, ACCORDING TO ANCIENT CUSTOM.”^a

Wetstein has made, in regard to the Churches of the East in general, an observation which Gibbon justly looks upon as very important : “ If we consult ecclesiastical history, we shall see that, so early as the fourth century,^b when there arose any controversy among the bishops of Greece, the party which desired to conquer, hastened to Rome, in order to pay court to the majesty of the Pontiff, and gain over to their side the Pope and the Latin Episcopate. Thus did Athanasius proceed to Rome, well accompanied, and remain there several years.”^c

We may well pardon a Protestant pen the expression : *party that desired to conquer* ; the fact of Pontifical supremacy is not, on that account, less clearly acknowledged. Never did the Eastern Church cease to recognize it. Why such frequent recourse to Rome ? Why that conclusive importance attached to its decisions ? Why that court paid to the majesty of the Pontiff ? Why, in particular, do we behold the celebrated Athanasius repair to Rome, spend there several years, and, in order to plead there his cause, learn with extreme difficulty the Latin language ? Who ever saw *the party that desired to conquer*^d paying court in the same fashion to the majesty of the other Pa-

^a Fleury, Hist. Eccl. tom. x. liv. xlv. No. 47.

^b That is, since the origin of the Church ; for it is from that time only that we see it acting externally as a publicly-constituted society, having its hierarchy, its laws, its customs, &c. Before its emancipation, Christianity was too much embarrassed to admit of appeals in the regular course. It possessed all, nevertheless, but only in germ.

^c Wetstein, Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. 19, cited by Gibbon, Hist. of the Decline, &c. 8vo. tom. iv. c. xxi.

^d *As if every party were not anxious to conquer !* But what Wetstein does not say, and what is nevertheless very obvious, is, that the orthodox party, which was sure of Rome, hastened thither, whilst *the side of error, which would fain have conquered*, but which conscience enlightened sufficiently in regard to what it had to expect at Rome, could scarcely venture to appear there.

triarchs? There is nothing so evident as the supremacy of Rome; and the bishops of the East never ceased to confess it by their acts as well as by their writings.

It were superfluous to accumulate authorities derived from the Latin Church. For us, the primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff is precisely what the system of Copernicus is for astronomers. It is a fixed point, from which we start; whoever hesitates on this point, understands nothing of the Christian religion.

“No unity of the Church,” said St. Thomas, “without unity of faith; . . . but no unity of faith without a supreme head.”^a

THE POPE AND THE CHURCH ARE ALL ONE! So said Francis of Sales;^b and Bellarmin had already said so, with a sagacity that will always be more admired, as men become wiser. “Do you know of what there is question, when we speak of the Sovereign Pontiff? Christianity.”^c

The question of clandestine marriages having been decided by a very great majority of votes in the Council of Trent, one of the legates of the Pope said as much to the assembled fathers, even after his colleagues had signed: “And I also, legate of the Holy See, give my approbation to the decree, provided it obtain that of our Holy Father.”^d

CHAPTER VII.

STRIKING TESTIMONIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

IN its general assembly of 1626, the clergy of France called the Pope “visible chief of the universal Church,

^a St. Thom. *adversus gentes*, L. iv. cap. 76.

^b *Epîtres spirituelles de St. François de Sales*. Lyon, 1634, liv. vii. ép. xlix.—Following St. Ambrose, who has said: “Where Peter is, there is the Church,”—“Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia.”—Ambr. in Ps. xl.

^c Bellarmin, *De Summo Pontifice*, in præf.

^d *Ego pariter legatus Sedis apostolicæ adprobo decretum si S. D. N. adprobetur*.—Pallav. *Hist. Concil. Trident.* lib. xxxii. cap. iv. et ix.; lib. xxiii. cap. ix. Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronius vindicatus*, 8vo. tom. ii. dissert. iv. c. viii. pp. 187 et 188.

vicar of God on earth, bishop of bishops and of patriarchs; in a word, successor of St. Peter, in whom the apostolate and the episcopate had their beginning, and on whom Jesus Christ founded his Church, in giving to him the keys of heaven, with infallibility of faith, which is known to have remained immoveable in his successors until our days." ^a

Towards the end of the same century, we have heard Bossuet repeat, after the fathers of Chalcedon: "Peter always lives in his chair." ^b

He adds: "Feed my flock, and with my flock feed also the pastors, WHO, IN REGARD TO YOU, SHALL BE SHEEP." ^c

And in his celebrated sermon on unity, he pronounces, without hesitation: "The Roman Church knows not heresy; she remains always a virgin Church . . . Peter is, in the persons of his successors, the foundation of the faithful." ^d

And his friend, the great defender of Gallican maxims, affirms no less strongly: "THE ROMAN CHURCH HAS NEVER ERRED. . . . We hope that God will never permit error to prevail in the Holy See of Rome, as has happened in the other Apostolic Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, because God has said: 'I have prayed for you,' &c." ^e

In another place he admits "that the Pope is not less our superior in spiritual things than the king in temporal;" and even the bishops who subscribed the four articles of 1682 accorded, nevertheless, to the Pope, in a circular letter addressed to all their colleagues, *sovereign ecclesiastical power*. ^f

In the terrible days of the French Revolution, singular

^a This passage is to be seen everywhere. It may be read, if the *Mémoires du Clergé* are not at hand, in the *Remarques sur le Système Gallican*, &c. 8vo. Mons, 1801, pp. 173 and 174.

^b Bossuet, Sermon on the Resurrect. part ii.

^c Id. ib.

^d Id. part i.

^e Fleury, Disc. on the Liberties of the Gallican Church.

^f *Nouv. Opusc. de Fleury*. Paris, 1807. 12mo. p. 111. Corrections et additions aux mêmes opuscules, p. 32.

homage is known to have been paid to this sound principle.

In the year 1810 Bonaparte commissioned an ecclesiastical council to answer certain questions on fundamental discipline, which were very delicate, considering the circumstances in which the country was placed at the time. The answer of the deputies, in regard to the point I am at present discussing, is indeed remarkable :

“ A general council,” say these deputies, “ cannot be held without the head of the Church ; without him, it would not represent the universal Church. Fleury expressly says so.^a The authority of the Pope was always necessary for general councils.”^b

In truth, a certain French routine leads the deputies to say, in the course of the discussion, “ that a general council is the only authority in the Church above the Pope ; ” but soon they are at one with themselves, and immediately add : “ But it might happen that recourse to a council should become impossible, either by the Pope’s refusal to recognize it as general, or, &c.”

In a word, from the dawn of Christianity to our own time, it will not be found that the practice has varied. The Popes have always considered themselves the supreme chiefs of the Church, and have always exercised the powers attaching to this position.

CHAPTER VIII.

JANSENIST EVIDENCE, TEXT FROM PASCAL, AND REFLEXIONS ON THE WEIGHT OF CERTAIN AUTHORITIES.

THE chain of authorities, of which I present only a selection, is undoubtedly highly calculated to produce convic-

^a IV^e Discours sur l’Histoire Eccl. What matters it whether Fleury has said so or not ? But Fleury is an idol of the French Pantheon. In vain would a thousand pens demonstrate that there is no historian less fit to be presented as an authority. Many of the French will never give up their FLEURY L’A DIT.

^b See the fragments relating to the ecclesiastical history of the

tion ; nevertheless, there is something still more striking, perhaps, and that is, the general feeling which results from an attentive reading of ecclesiastical history. There is there perceived, if I may so express myself, *a real presence*, in some sort, of the Sovereign Pontiff in all quarters of the Christian world. He is everywhere, he takes part in everything, he looks to all, as from all sides he is looked to. Pascal has well expressed this feeling : “ We must not judge what the Pope is by certain words of the Fathers, . . . but by the actions of the Church, and of the Fathers, and by the canons. The Pope is the first. What other is known to all ? What other is recognized by all, having power to exercise influence over the whole body, because he holds the chief branch which possesses influence everywhere ? ”^a

Pascal, with great reason, adds : “ *Important rule !* ”^b And, indeed, nothing is more important than to judge, not by such and such an isolated or doubtful fact, but by all the facts together ; not from such and such a sentence, fallen from such and such a writer, but by the whole of his writings, and the spirit which pervades them.

We must, besides, never lose sight of the great rule, which, although it belong to all times and places, is too much neglected in discussing this subject : “ That the testimony of a man can no longer be received, however great his merit, the moment he is even suspected of being under the influence of any passion capable of leading him astray.” The laws reject a judge or a witness that falls under their suspicion on this ground, or even in consideration simply of relationship. The most exalted personage, the most universally venerated character, is not insulted by this

first years of the nineteenth century. Paris, 1814, 8vo. p. 115. I inquire not here what either the one or the other power may have to clear up with such and such members of this commission. Every man of honour owes his sincere applause to the noble and Catholic intrepidity which dictated these answers.

^a Pensées de Pascal. Paris, 1803. 8vo. tome ii. II^e partie, art. xvii. No. XCII. et XCIV. p. 118.

^b Ibid. No. XCIII.

legal suspicion. In saying to any man whatsoever: "*You are a man,*" we fail not in respect to him.

When Pascal defends his sect against the Pope, it is as if he spoke not; we must listen to him when he bears to the Pope's supremacy the wise testimony that has just been quoted.

That a small and select number of bishops, excited and in dread of authority, should take the liberty to prescribe limits to the sovereignty which has a right to judge them, is unfortunate, but nothing more; we cannot even recognize their existence.

But when personages of the same order, legitimately assembled, pronounce calmly and in full liberty the decision laid before the reader in the last chapter, on the rights and the authority of the Holy See,^a we truly hear the illustrious body of which they style themselves the representatives; *it is, in reality, that body*; and when, some years later, other bishops thunder against what they so justly call THE SERVITUDES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH, it is still that distinguished body we hear and ought to believe.^b

When St. Cyprian says, speaking of certain mischief-makers of his time, "They dare address themselves to the chair of St. Peter—to that sovereign Church, in which sacerdotal dignity took its origin; . . . they know not that the Romans are men to whom error has no access,"^c we hear in reality St. Cyprian, an irreproachable witness of the faith of his age.

But when the adversaries of the Pontifical monarchy quote, *usque ad nauseam*, the sallies of this same St. Cyprian against Pope Stephen, they depict miserable humanity, instead of presenting to us sound tradition. And this is precisely the case with Bossuet. Who ever knew,

^a See note *a* to chap. vii.

^b *Servitutes potiùs quàm libertates.*—Vid. tome ii. de la Coll. des Procès-verb. du Clergé, pièc. just. No. 1.

^c *Navigare audent ad Petri cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde dignitas sacerdotalis orta est . . . nec cogitare eos esse Romanos ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum.*—St. Cyprian, ep. lv.

better than he, the rights of the Roman Church, and who ever spoke of them with more truth and eloquence? And nevertheless this same Bossuet, swayed by a passion he perceived not in the depths of his heart, dreaded not to write to the Pope, with the pen of Louis XIV., "that if his Holiness prolonged that affair on grounds that were not understood, the king knew what he should have to do; and that he hoped the Pope would not reduce him to such distressing extremities."^a

St. Augustine, candidly admitting the faults of St. Cyprian, "hopes that the martyrdom of this holy personage has expiated them all;"^b let us hope, also, that a long life wholly dedicated to the service of religion, and so many noble works that have added lustre to the Church as well as to France, will have obliterated some faults, or perhaps, rather, some involuntary impulses, *quos humana parum cavit natura*.

But let us never forget the advice of Pascal, that we should pay no attention to *certain words of the Fathers*, nor, on still better grounds, to other authorities, which are of less value even than some fugitive expressions of the Fathers, but consider with attention *actions and canons*,^c holding always to the mass of authorities; weeding out, as is but just, such as circumstances render null or suspected. Every upright mind will understand the force of my last observation.

CHAPTER IX.

PROTESTANT EVIDENCES.

THE Catholic monarchy must be evident indeed, and equally so the advantages resulting from it, since it would be possible to compose a book of the testimonies which Protestants have borne to the truth no less than to the

^a Hist. de Boss. tom. iii. l. x. No. 18, p. 33.

^b Martyrii falce purgatum.

^c Pascal, as above.

excellence of that system ; but on this point, as well as on that of Catholic authorities, I must restrict myself to the narrowest limits.

Let us begin, as is but just, with Luther, from whose pen have fallen the following remarkable words :—

“ I give thanks to Jesus Christ, because he has, by a great miracle, preserved upon the earth one only Church (*Eglise unique*), . . . so as that she has never gone astray from the true faith by any decree.”^a

“ The Church,” says Melancthon, “ must have guides to maintain order, to have an eye over those who are called to the ecclesiastical ministry, and over the teaching of priests, and to judge in ecclesiastical cases ; so that, if there were not such bishops, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO MAKE THEM. THE MONARCHY OF THE POPE would contribute much to preserve among different nations agreement in doctrine.”^b

Next comes Calvin. “ God,” says he, “ has placed the throne of his religion in the centre of the world, and has there established one Pontiff, towards whom all are obliged to turn their eyes, in order to maintain themselves more strongly in unity.”^c

The learned, the wise, the virtuous Grotius, candidly declares “ that, without the primacy of the Pope, there would no longer be any means of putting an end to disputes, and of determining points of faith.”^d

^a Luther, cité dans l’Histoire des Variations, liv. i. No. 21, &c.

^b Melancthon expresses himself in an admirable manner when he says : “ The monarchy of the Pope,” &c.—Bossuet, Hist. de Var. liv. v. sec. 24.

^c *Cultus sui sedem in medio terræ collocavit, illi UNUM ANTI-STITEM præfecit quem omnes respicerent, quò meliùs in unitate continerentur.*—Calv. Inst. vi. sec. 11.

I am quite prepared, with Calvin, to look upon Rome as *the centre of the earth*. This city has as good a right, I trow, as that of Delphos, to be called *umbilicus terræ*.

^d *Sinè tali primatu exire à controversiis non poterat, sicut hodiè apud Protestantes, &c.*—Grotius *Votum pro pace Eccles.* art. vii. Oper. tom. iv. Bâle, 1731, p. 658.

A Protestant lady has commented on this text with much wit and judgment : “ The right of examining what one believes, is

Casaubon has made no difficulty in acknowledging "that in the eyes of every man, well informed in regard to ecclesiastical history, the Pope was the instrument God made use of to preserve the deposit of faith in all its integrity during so many ages." ^a

According to the remark of Puffendorf: "It is not allowed to doubt that the government of the Church is monarchical, and necessarily monarchical, democracy and aristocracy being excluded by the very nature of things, as absolutely incapable of maintaining order and unity amidst the agitation of minds and the fury of parties." ^b

With remarkable wisdom, he adds: "The suppression of the authority of the Pope has thrown into the world innumerable seeds of discord; for, there being no longer sovereign authority to terminate the disputes which arose on all hands, the Protestants were seen divided amongst themselves, *and tearing their hearts with their own hands.*" ^c

What he says of councils is not less reasonable: "*That the council,*" says he, "*is above the Pope,* is a proposition which must carry the assent of all who hold to reason and Scripture; ^d but that those who consider the See of Rome the centre of all churches, and the Pope the œcumenical bishop, adopt also the same opinion, *is what cannot but appear somewhat more than moderately absurd*; for the proposition which places the council above the Pope, establishes a veritable aristocracy, *and nevertheless the Roman Church is a monarchy.*" ^e

the foundation of Protestantism. The first reformers did not so understand it. They believed they could place the Hercules' pillars of the human mind at the limits of their own knowledge; but they were wrong in hoping that men would submit to their decisions as infallible, since they rejected all authority of this kind in the Catholic religion."—*De l'Allemagne*, par Mad. de Staël, IV^e partie, chap. ii.

^a Nemo peritus rerum Ecclesiæ ignorat operâ Rom. Pont. per multa secula Deum esse usum in conservandâ . . . fidei doctrinâ.—Casaub. Exerc. xv. in Annal. bar.

^b Puffendorf, de Monarch. Pont. Rom.

^c *Furere Protestantes in sua ipsorum viscera cœperunt.*—Ibid.

^d By these words, Puffendorf means to designate Protestants.

^e . . . Id quidem non parum absurditatis habet, quùm status

Mosheim, examining the sophisms of the Jansenists, "*that the Pope is indeed the superior of each Church by itself, but not of all the Churches united;*" Mosheim, I say, forgets his anti-Catholic fanaticism, and allows himself to be guided by sound logic, so far as to reply: "We might hold, with as much reason, that the head presides indeed over each member in particular, but not at all over the body, which is all the members joined together; or that a king really commands the towns, villages, and fields which compose a province, but not the province itself."^a

An Anglican doctor has made for his Church the following very plain and pressing argument, which has become famous: "*If the supremacy of an archbishop (of Canterbury) be necessary to maintain in one body the whole Anglican Church, how should not the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff be necessary to maintain in unity the universal Church?*"^b

Remarkable, too, is the avowal of the candid Seckenberg, in regard to the administration of the Popes: "There is not," says he, "a single instance in all history of a Sovereign Pontiff having persecuted those who, attached to their legitimate rights, undertook not to overstep their limits."^c

It would be easy to quote a multitude of such texts, but I must be brief. I shall conclude by an interesting citation, which is not so well known as it deserves to be, and which may stand in lieu of a thousand others. The author

Ecclesiæ monarchicus sit.—Puffendorf, *de Habitu Religionis Christ. ad Vitam civilem*, sec. 38.

^a *Id tam mihi scitum videtur, ac si quis affirmaret membra quidem à capite regi, &c.*—Mosheim, tom. i. *Diss. ad Hist. Eccles.* p. 542.

^b *Si necessarium est ad unitatem in Ecclesiâ (Angliæ) tuendam unum archiepiscopum aliis præesse; cur non pari ratione toti Ecclesiæ Dei unus præerit archiepiscopus?*—Cartwright in *defens. Wirgisti*.

^c *Jure affirmari poterit ne exemplum quidem esse in omnium rerum memoriâ ubi Pontifex processerit adversus eos qui jure suis intenti, ultra limites vagari, in animum non induxerunt suum.*—Henr. Christ. Seckenberg, *Method. Jurispr. addit. iv. de Libertate Eccles. Germ.* sec. 3.

of it is a minister of the holy gospel ; I am not privileged to name him, since he has thought proper to remain anonymous ; but I am nowise embarrassed in not knowing to whom I should address my esteem :

“ I cannot refrain from saying that the first sacrilegious hand which touched the censer was that of Luther and Calvin, when, under the name of Protestantism and reform, they brought about a schism in the Church—a fatal schism, which has only carried by an absolute rupture those modifications which Erasmus would have introduced in a more gentle way by the weapon of ridicule, which he handled so well.

“ Yes ! the reformers, in ringing the tocsin upon Rome and the Pope, levelled the first blow at the ancient and venerable colossus of the Roman hierarchy, and, directing the minds of men to the discussion of religious dogmas, prepared them for discussing also the principles of sovereignty, and thus undermined with the same hand the altar and the throne.

“ The time is come to build anew the substructure of that magnificent palace, destroyed erewhile with so much noise. . . . And now, perhaps, likewise is the time to bring back to the bosom of the Church the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the Calvinists. . . . It belongs to you, Roman Pontiff . . . to show yourself the father of the faithful, in restoring its pomp to divine worship, to the Church its unity ;^a it belongs to you, successor of St. Peter, to re-establish in unbelieving Europe religion and sound morals. . . . Those same English people who the first withdrew from your sway, are to-day your most zealous defenders. That patriarch who at Moscow endeavoured to rival your power, is not perhaps very far from recognizing you^b . . . Avail yourself, then, Holy Father,

^a Always the same avowal : *Without him no unity.*

^b The author may have had legitimate hopes with regard to the English, who should, indeed, according to all appearances, be the first to return to unity ; but how grievously is he not mistaken in the case of the Greeks, who are much farther removed from the truth than the English people ! Moreover, for

avail yourself of the favourable time and favourable dispositions. *Temporal power is escaping you*, resume the spiritual; *and making, in regard to dogma, the sacrifices circumstances demand*, unite with the sages whose pen and whose voice command the nations; restore to incredulous Europe a *simple*^a but uniform religion, and, above all, a pure morality—and you will be proclaimed the worthy successor of the apostles.^b”

Let us overlook those remains of antiquated prejudices, which can scarcely ever be eradicated from the soundest heads in which they have once taken root. Neither let us heed that remark on *temporal power escaping from the Sovereign Pontiff*, as if it had been destined never to be re-established; nor that advice to resume spiritual power, as if it had ever been suspended; nor that still more extraordinary counsel, *to make, in regard to dogma, the sacrifices which circumstances demand*: that is to say, in terms perfectly synonymous, *to become Protestants, and so make an end of dogmas*. . . . On the other hand, what wisdom! what logic! what sincere, what precious avowals! what an admirable effort against national prejudices! In reading this passage, we call to mind the maxim:

“From an enemy, even, we may take lessons;”

if, however, we can call *enemy* one whom an enlightened conscience has brought so near to ourselves.

a century back there has no longer been a patriarch at Moscow. In fine, the archbishop or metropolitan who filled the see of Moscow in 1797 was, beyond doubt, of all the bishops who have borne the rebel mitre, the least disposed to carry it once more within the circle of unity.

^a How I should have desired the estimable author had told us, in a note, what he means by a *SIMPLE* religion! If, perchance, it was a *corrected* and *diminished* religion, the Pope would not be much inclined to enter into his view.

^b De la Nécessité d'un Culte Public. L—, 1797, 8vo. (Conclusion).

CHAPTER X.

TESTIMONIES OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH, AND, THROUGH IT, OF
THE GREEK DISSENTING CHURCH.

THE luminous evidences—all the more valuable that they are little known—which the Russian Church provides us with against heresy on the important question of the Pope's supremacy, will not be read without extreme interest. Her spiritual books present, on this subject, confessions so clear, so express, so powerful, that it is difficult to understand how the science which consents to pronounce them can refuse to yield to them.* We must not be surprised if these ecclesiastical books have not yet been cited. Cumbrous by their form and weight, written in Slavonic—a language which, though very rich and very beautiful, is as foreign as Sanscrit to our eyes and ears—printed in repulsive characters, buried in the churches, and turned over only by men wholly unknown to the world: it is quite obvious why this mine has never until now been searched; it is time to dive into it.

To proceed, then. The Russian Church goes so far as to sing the following hymn: "O! St. Peter, prince of the apostles! apostolic primate! immovable rock of faith, in recompense of thy confession, eternal foundation of the Church; pastor of the speaking flock;^b bearer of the keys of heaven; chosen from among all the apostles to be, after Jesus Christ, the first foundation of the Holy Church—

* I have learned that for some time there are met with in trade at Moscow, as well as at St. Petersburg, some copies of these books, mutilated in the most striking places; but nowhere are these decisive texts more legible than in the copies from which they have been torn out.

^b PASTUR SLOVESNAGO STADA (loquentis gregis), that is to say, *men*, according to the spirit of the *Slavonian* language. We have here the *speaking animal*, or the speaking soul of the Hebrews, and the *articulating man* of Homer. All these expressions of the ancient languages are very exact: *man* being *man*, that is, an intellectual being only by speech.

rejoice ! rejoice ! never-to-be-shaken pillar of the orthodox faith ! chief of the apostolic college !”^a

She adds : “ Prince of the apostles, thou hast quitted all, and hast followed the Master, saying, ‘ I will die with thee ; with thee I shall live a life of happiness. Thou hast been the first bishop of Rome, the honour and the glory of the very great city. On thee has the Church been consolidated. ’ ”^b

The same Church refuses not to repeat in its language the words of St. John Chrysostom : “ *God said to Peter, ‘ You are Peter, ’ and he gave to him this name because upon him, as on a solid rock, Jesus Christ founded his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, for the Creator himself having laid the foundation, which he confirms by faith, what power could make opposition to her ?* ”^c

What, then, could I add to the praises of this apostle, and what can be imagined beyond the discourse of our

^a AKAPHISTI SEDMITCHNII (Prières hebdomadaires). N.B. It has not been possible to procure the original of this book. The citation is taken from another book, but which is very exact, and which has never deceived in any of the citations that have been borrowed from it and have been verified. According to this latter book, the AKAPHISTI SEDMITCHNII were printed at Mohiloff in 1698. The kind of hymn here alluded to bears the Greek name of *ῥμος* (*i.e.* series) ; it belongs to the office of Thursday, in the octave of the feast of the apostles.

^b ΜΙΝΕΙΑ ΜΕΣΑΤΧΝΑΙΑ (Vies des Saints pour chaque mois). They are divided into twelve volumes, one for each month of the year ; or in four, one for three months. To the Lives of the Saints the last editions add hymns and other pieces, so that the whole may be named more exactly *the Office of the Saints*.—Moscow, 1813, fol. 30th June. Recueil en l’honneur des saints apôtres.

^c St. Chrysostom translated into Slavonic, in the book of rites of the Russian Church, entitled PHOLOG. (Moscow, 1677, fol.) This is an abridgment of the lives of the saints whose office is celebrated every day in the year. There are in it, also, sermons, panegyrics of St. Chrysostom, and other Fathers of the Church, sentences extracted from their own writings, &c. The quotation relating to this note belongs to the office of the 29th June. It is taken from the 3rd Sermon of St. John Chrysostom for the festival of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Saviour, who calls Peter happy, who gives him the name of *Peter* (*rock*), and declares that on this rock he will build his Church? ^a Peter is the rock and the foundation of faith; ^b to this Peter, the supreme apostle, the Lord himself has given authority, saying to him: "I give to thee the keys of heaven," &c. *What, then, shall we say to Peter?* O Peter, object of the affection of the Church, light of the universe, unspotted dove, prince of the apostles, ^c source of orthodoxy. ^d

The Russian Church, which speaks in such magnificent terms of the prince of the apostles, is not less eloquent in regard to his successors. I shall adduce a few examples.

FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES.—"After the death of St. Peter and his two successors, Clement held with wisdom at Rome the helm of the bark, which is the Church of Jesus Christ." ^e And in a hymn, in honour of this same Clement, the Russian Church says: "Martyr of Jesus Christ, disciple of Peter, thou didst imitate his heavenly virtues, and thus showedst thyself the true heir of his throne." ^f

FOURTH CENTURY.—She (Russian Church) thus addresses Pope St. Sylvester: "Thou art the chief of the sacred council; thou hast rendered illustrious the throne of the prince of the apostles; ^g divinely appointed chief

^a St. John Chrysostom, *ibid.* second sermon.

^b TRIO DPOSTINAIA (Ritualis liber quadragesimalis). This book contains the offices of the Russian Church from Septuagesima Sunday till Holy Saturday. (Moscow, 1811, folio.) The passage quoted is taken from the office of Thursday in the second week.

^c PHOLOG (ubi supra), 29th June. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd discourse of St. John Chrysostom.

^d NATCHALO PRAVOSLAVIJA. Le PHOLOG, according to St. John Chrysostom. *Ibid.* 29th June.

^e MINEIA MESATCHNAIA. Office of 15th January. *Kondak* (hymn), Stroph. ii.

^f MINEI TCHETHIKI. This is the lives of the saints by *Demitri Rostofski*, who is a saint of the Russian Church.—Moscow, 1815. 25th Nov. Life of St. Clement, pope and martyr.

^g MINEIA MESATCHNAIA, 29th Nov. Hymn viii. *ἵμνος*.

of the holy bishops, thou hast confirmed the divine doctrine, thou hast shut the impious mouth of heretics." ^a

FIFTH CENTURY.—To Pope Leo she says: "What name shall I give thee to-day? Shall I call thee the wonderful herald and the firm support of truth?—the venerable chief of the supreme council? ^b—the successor to the sovereign throne of St. Peter?—the heir of the invincible Peter, and the successor to his empire?" ^c

SEVENTH CENTURY.—Pope St. Martin she thus addresses: "Thou wilt honour the divine throne of Peter; and, by maintaining the Church on this immoveable rock, thou hast made thy name illustrious, ^d most glorious master of all orthodox doctrine; faithful organ of the sacred precepts, ^e around whom the priesthood all united, together with the whole orthodox world, to anathematize heresy." ^f

EIGHTH CENTURY.—In the life of St. Gregory II., an angel says to the holy pontiff: "God has called thee to be the sovereign bishop of his Church, and the successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles." ^g

Elsewhere the same Church holds up to the admiration of the faithful the letter of this holy pontiff to the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, on the subject of the worship of images: "Wherefore, as invested with the power and the SOVEREIGNTY (*godspodstvo*) of St. Peter, *we forbid*," &c. &c. ^h

And in the same collection which has supplied the preceding text, there is a passage from St. Theodore Studites, who said to Pope Leo III.: ⁱ "O thou supreme pastor of

^a MINEIA MESATCHNAIA. 2nd Jan. St. Sylvester, pope.—Hymn ii.

^b Ibid. 18th Feb. St. Leo, pope. Hymn viii.—Ibid. extract from 4th d sc. at the Council of Chalcedon.

^c Ibid. 18th Feb. Hymns viii. Strophes 1st and 7th, *υμνος*.

^d Ibid. 14th April. St. Martin, pope. Hymn vii. *υμνος*.

^e PHOLOG. 10th April. STICHIRI (*Cantiq.*), Hymn viii.

^f PHOLOG. 14th April. St. Martin, pope.

^g MINEI TCHETIHKH. 12th March. St. Gregory, pope.

^h SOBORNIC. fol. Moscow, 1804.—This is a collection of sermons and epistles of the Fathers of the Church, suited for the use of the Russian Church.

ⁱ The same Theodore Studites quoted above.

the Church that is under heaven, aid us in the utmost danger ; *fill the place of Jesus Christ*. Stretch out to us a protecting hand, in order to aid our Church of Constantinople ; show thyself the successor of the first pontiff who bore thy name. He punished the heresy of Eutyches ; punish, in thy turn, that of the Iconoclasts.^a Give ear to our prayers, O thou *chief and prince of the apostolate*, chosen by God himself to be the pastor of the *speaking flock* ;^b for thou art really *Peter*, since thou holdest and dost render brilliant the see of Peter. To thee Jesus Christ said : ‘ *Confirm thy brethren.*’ Behold, then, the time and the place to exercise thy privileges ; aid us, since God has given thee power to do so, *for it is to that end thou art the prince of all.*”^c

Not satisfied with thus establishing the Catholic doctrine by the clearest confessions, the Russian Church is pleased, moreover, to quote facts, which place in its brightest light the application of the doctrine in question.

Thus, for instance, it celebrates Pope St. Celestine, “ who, showing himself firm, both by his words and actions, in the way traced out to him by the apostles, deposed Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, after having brought to light in his letters the blasphemies of that heretic.”^d

And Pope St. Agapetus, “ who deposed the heretic An-
timus, patriarch of Constantinople, declared him anathema, then consecrated Mennas, whose doctrine was irreproachable, and raised him to the see of Constantinople.”^e

Likewise Pope St. Martin, “ who rushed like a lion against the wicked, separated from the Church of Jesus Christ ; Cyrius, patriarch of Alexandria ; Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople ; Pyrrhus, and all their adherents.”^f

^a SOBORNIC. Life of St. Theodore Studites. 11th Nov.

^b Vid. sup. chap. vi.

^c SOBORNIC. Letter of St. Theodore Studites, book ii. epist. 12.

^d PHOLOG. 8th April. St. Celestine, pope.

^e Ibid. St. Agapet. pope.—Article repeated 25th August. St. Mennas (or Minnas) according to the modern Greek pronunciation represented by Sclavonian orthography.

^f ΜΙΝΕΙΑ ΜΕΣΑΤΧΝΑΙΑ. 14th April. St. Martin, pope.

If it be asked how a Church which recites such testimonies daily, nevertheless obstinately denies the supremacy of the Pope, I reply, that men are led to-day by what they did yesterday; that it is not easy to obliterate ancient liturgies; and that they are followed by habit, even whilst systematically contradicted; that, in fine, the blindest at once, and most incurable prejudices, are those of religion. All this considered, we are not entitled to be astonished at anything. The testimonies, meanwhile, are all the more precious, that they strike at the same time the Greek Church, mother of the Russian, which has ceased to be her daughter.^a But the rites of the liturgical books being the same, a moderately vigorous man can easily

^a It is not uncommon to hear confounded in conversation the Russian and Greek Churches. There is nothing, however, more obviously erroneous. The former was indeed, at its origin, a province of the Greek Patriarchate. But there happened to it what must necessarily happen to every church that is not Catholic, which by the force of circumstances alone will end always by becoming wholly dependent on its temporal sovereign. There is much said about *Anglican supremacy*; nevertheless it possesses nothing peculiar to England; for it is impossible to adduce an instance of a separated church that is not subject to the absolute dominion of the civil power. Among Catholics even have we not seen the Gallican Church humbled, fettered enslaved, by the great magistracies, just in proportion as it unwisely allowed itself to be emancipated from the Pontifical power? There is no longer, then, a Greek Church out of Greece; and the Church of Russia is no more Greek than it is Coptic or Armenian. It stands alone in the Christian world, not less a stranger to the Pope, whom it does not acknowledge, than to the separated Greek Patriarch, who would be considered a fool if it entered into his mind to send any kind of order to St. Petersburg. The shadow, even, of all co-ordinate authority in religion has disappeared as regards the Russians towards their patriarch. The Church of this great people, wholly isolated, has ceased even to have a spiritual chief possessing a place in ecclesiastical history. As to the "*Holy Synod*," we ought to profess, in regard to each of its members taken singly, the highest imaginable consideration; but, beholding them in a body, we can only see the national consistency rendered complete, by the presence of a civil representative of the prince, who exercises over this ecclesiastical committee precisely the same supremacy that the sovereign exercises over the Church in general.

pierce both Churches, though no longer united, with the same blow.

We have seen, besides, among the great number of testimonies accumulated in the preceding chapters, those which relate to the Greek Church in particular; its submission to the Holy See is one of those historical facts which can by no means be called in question. There is even this peculiar to that Church (its schism not having been an affair of doctrine, but of mere pride), it ceased not to pay homage to the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff; thus condemning itself until the moment of its separation—so that the dissenting Church, dying to unity, confessed it nevertheless with its last breath.

Thence did Photius address himself to Pope Nicholas I. in 859, in order to have his election confirmed; and the Emperor Michael asks this same Pope to send legates to reform the Church of Constantinople; and Photius himself persists in his endeavours to seduce John VIII., in order to obtain the confirmation which was wanting to him.^a

Thus the clergy of Constantinople in a body had recourse to Pope Stephen in 886, solemnly acknowledged his supremacy, and begged of him, conjointly with the Emperor Leo, a dispensation for the patriarch Stephen, brother of that Emperor, *who had been ordained by a schismatic.*^b

Thus the Roman Emperor, who had created his son Theophilactus patriarch at the age of sixteen years, had recourse in 993 to Pope John XII., in order to obtain the necessary dispensations, and to ask of him at the same time that the *pallium* should be granted by him *to the patriarch*, or rather to the Church of Constantinople, once for all, without its being necessary henceforth that each patriarch should beg it of him in his turn.^c

^a Maimbourg, Hist. du Schisme des Grecs, tom. i. liv. i. an 859. Ibid. The Pope says in his letter, that, having power and authority to dispense with the decrees of councils, and of the Popes his predecessors, for good reasons, &c.—Joh. Epist. cxcix. cc. and ccii. tom. ix. conc. edit. Par.

^b Ibid. liv. iii. an 1054.

^c Ibid. liv. iii. an 933, p. 256.

Thus, also, the Emperor Basil, in the year 1019, still sent ambassadors to Pope John XX., in order to obtain of him, in favour of the patriarch of Constantinople, the title of *œcumenical patriarch* in regard to the East, *as the Pope enjoyed this title over all the earth.*^a

Strange inconsistency of the human mind ! The Greeks acknowledged the sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff in asking favours of him ; then they severed themselves from it, because it resisted them ; thus they still acknowledged it, expressly admitting themselves to be rebels in declaring themselves independent.

St. Francis of Sales will conclude this chapter. It occurred to him ingeniously to collect the different titles which ecclesiastical antiquity bestowed upon the Sovereign Pontiffs and their see. This catalogue is piquant, and cannot fail to make a powerful impression on right-thinking minds.

The Pope, then, is called :—

The Most Holy Bishop of the Catholic Church.	<i>Council of Soissons of 300 Bishops.</i>
The Most Holy and Most Happy Patriarch.	<i>Idem.</i>
The Most Happy Lord.	<i>St. Aug., Epist. 95.</i>
The Universal Patriarch.	<i>St. Leo, Pope, Epist. 62.</i>
The Chief of the Church of the World.	<i>Innoc. ad PP. of Council. Milev.</i>
The Bishop raised to the highest Apostolic dignity.	<i>St. Cyp., Epist. 3, 19.</i>
The Father of Fathers.	<i>Council of Chalced., Sess. iii.</i>
The Sovereign Pontiff of Bishops.	<i>Idem. in præf.</i>
The Sovereign Priest.	<i>Council of Chalced., Sess. xvi.</i>
The Prince of Priests.	<i>Stephen, Bishop of Carthage.</i>
The Prefect of the House of God and the Guardian of the Vineyard of the Lord.	<i>Council of Carthage, Epistle to Damasus.</i>
The Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Confirmer of the Faith of Christians.	<i>St. Jerome, præf. in Evang. ad Damasum. Valentinian, and with him all antiquity.</i>
The High Priest.	<i>Council of Chalced., in Epist. ad Theod. imper.</i>
The Sovereign Pontiff.	<i>Ibid.</i>
The Prince of Bishops.	<i>St. Bernard, lib. de consid.</i>
The Heir of the Apostles.	<i>St. Ambrose, in 1 Tim. iii.</i>
Abraham, by the Patriarchate.	<i>Conc. de Chalced., Epist. ad Leonem.</i>
Melchisedeck, through holy orders.	<i>St. Bernard, Epist. 190.</i>
Moses, by the authority of his office.	<i>Id. ibid. et in lib. de consid.</i>
Samuel, by his jurisdiction.	<i>Ibid.</i>
Peter, by his power.	<i>Ibid.</i>
Christ, by unction.	<i>Ibid.</i>
The Pastor of the Fold of Jesus Christ.	<i>Id. lib. 2 de consid.</i>
The Key-bearer of the House of God.	<i>Id. ibid. ch. 8.</i>
The Pastor of all Pastors.	<i>Ibid.</i>
The Pontiff called to the fulness of power.	<i>Ibid.</i>
St. Peter was the mouth of Jesus Christ.	<i>St. Chrysostome, hom. ii. in divers. serm.</i>

^a Maimbourg, liv. iii. an 933, p. 271.

The mouth, and the Chief of the Apostolate.	<i>Origen, hom. lv. in Matth.</i>
The Chair, and the Principal Church.	<i>St. Cyprian, Epist. lv. ad Cornel.</i>
The origin of sacerdotal unity.	<i>Id. Epist. iii. 2.</i>
The bond of unity.	<i>Id. ibid. iv. 2.</i>
The Church in which resides the principal power, potentior principalitas).	<i>Id. ibid. iii. 8.</i>
The Church, root and mother of all others.	<i>St. Anaclet., Pope, Epist. ad omnes Episc. et Fideles.</i>
The seat on which the Lord hath founded the Universal Church.	<i>St. Damasus, Epist. ad univ. Episc.</i>
The cardinal point, and the Chief of all the Churches.	<i>St. Marcellin, R. Epist. ad Episc. Antioch Council of Alex., Epist. ad Felic.</i>
The refuge of Bishops.	<i>St. Athanasius.</i>
The supreme Apostolic seat.	<i>The Emperor Justin., in lib. 8, eod. de sum. Trinit.</i>
The presiding Church.	
The Supreme See, which cannot be judged by any other.	<i>St. Leo, in nat. SS. Apostolorum.</i>
The Church set over and preferred to all others.	<i>Victor d'Utique, in lib. de perfect.</i>
The First of all Sees.	<i>St. Prosper, in lib. de ingrat.</i>
The Apostolic Fountain.	<i>St. Ignatius, Epist. ad Rom. in subscrip.</i>
The most sure Haven of all Catholic communion.	<i>Council of Rome, under St. Gelasius.</i>

The bringing together of this variety of appellations is a task altogether worthy of the luminous mind by which the great Bishop of Geneva was distinguished. We have already seen what a high idea he entertained of the Roman supremacy. Meditating on the numerous analogies of the two Testaments, he insisted on the authority of the high priest of the Hebrews. "Ours, also," says St. Francis of Sales, "bears on his breast the *urim* and the *thummim*, that is, *doctrine* and *truth*. Assuredly, all that was granted to the servant *Agar*, ought to have been so likewise, and on still better grounds, to the wife *Sarah*." ^a

Enumerating afterwards the various figures by which it may have pleased the inspired writers to shadow forth the Church: "Is she represented as a house?" says he; "behold her seated on her *rock*, and on the foundation of her ministry, *which is Peter*. Is she spoken of as a *family*? See our Lord pay tribute, as head of the household, and first after him St. Peter as his representative. Is the Church likened to a *barque*? St. Peter is its real patron, and this the Lord himself teaches me. Is the congregating of men which the Church brings about repre-

^a Controverses de Saint François de Sales, disc. xl. p. 247. J'ai cité les sources d'après lui. On ne peut avoir de doutes sur un tel transcripteur; et d'ailleurs une vérification détaillée m'eût été impossible.

sented by a fishing? St. Peter there appears first, and the other disciples only fish after he has done. Is the doctrine preached to us in order to rescue us from the *great waters*, compared to the net of a fisherman? St. Peter lets it down; St. Peter draws it up; the other disciples only act as his assistants; St. Peter also presents *the fishes* to our Lord. Would you liken the Church to an *embassy*? St. Peter is at its head. Would you rather compare it to a kingdom? St. Peter bears the keys. Would you, in fine, have it figured by a sheepfold of lambs and of *sheep*? St. Peter is the shepherd and the general pastor, under Jesus Christ.”^a

I have not been able to refuse myself the pleasure of making this great and amiable saint instruct us for a moment, because he presents one of those general observations so valuable in works where details are not allowed. Examine, one after another, the great doctors of the Catholic Church; in proportion as the principle of holiness has prevailed among them, you will find them always more fervent towards the Holy See, more sensible of its rights, more careful to defend them. And why? Because the Holy See is never opposed but by pride, which is sacrificed by sanctity.

In contemplating dispassionately this overwhelming mass of testimonies, the several colours of which, concentrated in a common focus, produce the *white* of evidence, we cannot be surprised at hearing candidly avowed, by one of the most distinguished French theologians, “*that he is crushed by the powerful testimonies which Bellarmin and others have collected, in order to establish the infallibility of the Roman Church; but that it is not easy to make them agree with the declaration of 1682, from which it is not allowed him to swerve.*”^b

^a Controverses de St. François de Sales, disc. xlii.

^b Non dissimulandum est in tantâ testimoniorum mole quæ Bellarminus et alii congerunt, nos recognoscere apostolicæ sedis seu Rom. Eccles. certam et infallibilem auctoritatem; et longè difficilium est ea conciliare cum declaratione cleri Gallicani, à quâ recedere nobis non permittitur.—Tournely, Tract. de Eccles. part. ii. quæst. v. art. 3.

All men free from prejudice must hold similar language. We may dispute about this as about everything else ; but conscience is satisfied by the number and the weight of witnesses.

CHAPTER XI.

ON CERTAIN TEXTS OF BOSSUET.

ARGUMENTS so decisive, and testimonies so precise, could not escape the excellent mind of Bossuet, but he had to exercise forbearance ; and, in order to make what he owed to conscience agree with what he thought he owed to other considerations, he clung with all his might to the celebrated but vain distinction of the *chair* and the *person*.

“ All the Roman Pontiffs together,” said he, “ ought to be considered as the one person of St. Peter continued, in whom the faith can never fail ; but if it should happen to stagger or even to fall with some,^a it cannot be said that it ever falls COMPLETELY, since it must speedily rise again ; and we believe firmly that it will never happen otherwise in the whole succession of Sovereign Pontiffs till the end of ages.”^b

What cobwebs ! miserable subtleties unworthy of Bossuet ! It is just about the same as if he had said *that all the Roman emperors ought to be considered as a continuation of the person of Augustus ; that if wisdom and humanity appeared sometimes to stagger on the throne in the persons of some, such as Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, &c., it cannot*

^a What is meant by *some*, if there be only one person ? and how, from several *fallible* persons, can there result one *infallible* person ?

^b Accipiendi Romani Pontifices tanquam una persona Petri, in quâ NUNQUAM fides Petri deficiat, atque ut in ALIQUIBUS vacillet aut concidat, non tamen deficit IN TOTUM quæ statim revictura sit, ne porrò aliter ad consummationem usque seculi in totâ Pontificum successione eventurum esse certâ fide credimus. —Bossuet, *Defensio*, &c. tom. ii. p. 191.

There is not a word in all these sentences of Bossuet that expresses anything precise. What means *stagger* or *vacillate* ? What means *some*, and *completely*, and *speedily* ?

be said, notwithstanding, that they failed entirely, since they were destined soon to be renewed in the persons of the Antoninus, the Trajan, &c.

Bossuet, however, had too much genius and candour to be ignorant of the essential relation which connects the idea of sovereignty with that of unity, and not to understand that it is impossible to displace infallibility without destroying it. He beheld himself, then, obliged to have recourse (after the example of Vigor, Dupin, Noel, Alexander, and others) to the distinction of **SEE** and **PERSON**, and to maintain indefectibility in denying infallibility.^a This idea he had already presented with the greatest skill in his immortal sermon on unity.^b This is all that can be said, no doubt; but conscience, left to itself, repels these subtleties, or rather, it understands them not at all.

An ecclesiastical author—who has collected with much science, labour, and taste, a number of valuable passages relating to holy tradition—observed, very much to the purpose, “that the distinction between the different ways of pointing out the head of the Church is only a subterfuge imagined by innovators, in order to separate the spouse from her Lord. . . . The partisans of schism and error studied to delude in transferring what concerns their judge and the visible centre of unity, to abstract names, &c.”^c

^a “That, contrary to the custom of all their predecessors, one or two Sovereign Pontiffs, either through violence or by surprise, have not upheld with sufficient constancy, or explained with sufficient fulness, the doctrine of faith. . . . A vessel ploughing the waters *leaves not slighter traces of her passage.*”—Serm. sur l’Unité, 1^{er} point.

· Illustrious man! by what text, by what example, by what reasoning do you establish these subtle distinctions? Faith has not so much ingenuity. Truth is simple, *and is at once perceived.*

^b Hence it comes, moreover, that in all this sermon he constantly avoids naming the Pope or the Sovereign Pontiff. He speaks always of the *Holy See*, the *Chair of St. Peter*, the *Roman Church*. In all that, there is nothing visible; and nevertheless, every sovereignty that is not visible, exists not; or is merely an idea.

^c *Principes de la Doctrine Catholique*, 8vo. p. 235.—The estimable author, who is not anonymous for me, avoids naming any-

In hearing this, we can imagine we are listening to good sense in person ; but, confining ourselves even to the idea of Bossuet, I should like to address to him an argument *ad hominem* ; I would say to him : If the Pontiff in the abstract be *infallible*, and if he cannot stumble in the person of an individual without recovering himself so promptly that it cannot be said he has fallen ; why this great provision of an œcumenical council, of the episcopal body, of the consent of the Church ? Let the Pope recover himself—it is the business of a moment. If he could be in error only during the time necessary for convoking an œcumenical council, or for assuring himself of the consent of the universal Church, the comparison of the ship would be somewhat lame.*

The philosophy of our age has often ridiculed those *realists* of the twelfth century, who maintained the existence and the reality of *universals*, and who more than once ensanguined the school with their combats against the *nominals*, inquiring whether it were *man* or *humanity* that studied dialectics, and that gave or received hard blows ; but those *realists* who granted existence to the *universals* had at least the exceeding great goodness not to withhold it from individuals. In maintaining, for instance, the reality of the *abstract elephant*, never did they give it charge to provide us with ivory ; they always allowed us to require this commodity of the palpable elephants we had in our power.

The *realist* theologians to whom I allude are bolder ; they strip the *individual* of the attributes with which they decorate the *universal* ; they admit the sovereignty of a dynasty, no member of which is sovereign.

Nothing, however, is more contrary than this theory to the divine system (and I may surely thus express it) displayed in the whole economy of religion. God, who has made us what we are—God, who has subjected us to

body, on account, no doubt, of the power of the names and the prejudices which surround him ; but it is sufficiently obvious whom he thought he had to complain of.

* Sup. p. 102, note 1.

time and matter, has not abandoned us to abstractions and to the chimeras of the imagination. He has made his Church visible, in order that there may be no excuse for him who will not see it; his grace, even, he has attached to sensible signs. What is there more divine than the remission of sins? God, nevertheless, hath willed to *materialize* it, as it were, in favour of man. Fanaticism or enthusiasm could only deceive themselves in trusting to interior movements. For the guilty there must be a tribunal, a judge, and words. The divine clemency, like the justice of a human tribunal, must be made obvious to him.

How, then, could it be believed that, on the fundamental point, God has derogated from his most evident, his most general, his most humane laws? It is quite easy to say: "*It has pleased the Holy Ghost and us.*" The Quaker says also that *he has the Spirit*; and Cromwell's Puritans said the same. Those who speak in the name of the Holy Ghost, ought to show that they are entitled to do so; the mystic dove does not come to rest on any fantastic *rock*: this is not what it promised.

If some great men have consented to place themselves in the ranks of the inventors of a dangerous chimera, we shall not derogate from the respect which is due to them, whilst we observe that they cannot derogate from truth.

There is, besides, a characteristic, very honourable indeed for them, which will ever distinguish them from their wretched colleagues—it consists in this: that the latter never advance a false principle but in favour of revolt; whilst the former, on the contrary, powerfully influenced by the accidents of human affairs, it cannot be said otherwise, to maintain the principle, refuse, nevertheless, to follow it to its consequences, and cannot disobey.

We cannot imagine, besides, in what difficulties the partisans of *abstract power* engage themselves, with a view to give it the reality it stands in need of, in order to act. The word **CHURCH** figures in their writings as that of **NATION** in those of the French revolutionists.

I pass by the obscure men whose difficulties occasion no

difficulty ; but read, in the new pieces of Fleury, the interesting conversation of Bossuet and the Bishop of Tournay (Choiseul Praslin), which has been preserved to us by Fenelon,^a and we shall see how the Bishop of Tournay pressed Bossuet, and urged him to infallibility, on the ground of *indefectibility*. But the great man had resolved not to shock anybody ; and it is in this system, invariably pursued, that we find the origin of those painful troubles which mingled so much bitterness with the latter days of his existence.

We must have courage to acknowledge that he is somewhat tiresome with his canons, to which he incessantly recurs.

“ Our ancient doctors,” says he, “ have all recognised, with one voice, in the Chair of St. Peter (he takes good care to avoid saying, *in the person of the Sovereign Pontiff*) the fulness of apostolical power. This is a point decided and resolved on.” Nothing better ; this is the dogma. “ But,” he continues, “ they only require that it be regulated in its exercise BY THE CANONS.”^b

Now, in the first place, the doctors of Paris have no more right than others to exact such and such things of the Pope ; they are subject like the rest, and obliged in like manner, to respect its sovereign decisions. They are, nothing more, nothing less, what all the doctors of the Catholic world are.

Whom, besides, does Bossuet aim at, and what means this restriction, “ *but they require,*” &c. ? From what time have the Popes pretended to govern without laws ? The most frantic enemy of the Holy See would not venture to deny, with history in his hand, that on no throne of the world has there existed, everything considered, more wisdom, more virtue, and more science, than on that of the Sovereign Pontiffs.^c Why, then, should not men have as much,

^a Nouv. opusc. de Fleury. Paris, 1807. 12mo. pp. 146 and 199.

^b Serm. sur l'Unité, II^e point.

^c “ The Pope is commonly a man of great knowledge and of great virtue, who, having attained maturity of years and experience, has rarely either vanity or pleasure to satisfy at the ex-

and even more, confidence in this sovereignty, than in all the rest, which have never had the pretension to govern without laws ?

“ But what,” it will no doubt be said, “ if the Pope happened to abuse his power ?” With this puerile question are consciences and the question at issue alike confounded.

And if temporal sovereignty abused its power, what would be done ? This is positively the same question. Monsters are conjured up, to be combated. When authority commands, there are only three courses that can be adopted—obedience, remonstrance, and revolt : which last is, in the spiritual order of things, called *heresy*, and in the temporal, *revolution*. A pretty fair experience has just taught us that the greatest evils resulting from subordination amount not to a thousandth part of those arising from rebellion. There are, besides, particular reasons in favour of the government of the Popes. How can it be maintained that men of experience—wise, prudent, reserved by character as well as from necessity—abuse spiritual power to such a degree as to cause incurable evils ? We have just heard an estimable Protestant acknowledge, candidly, that recourse having been had on good grounds to the Popes, and nevertheless despised by them, was a phenomenon unknown in history. Bossuet, proclaiming the same truth on a solemn occasion, confesses *that there has always been something paternal in the Holy See.*^a

A little above he had said : “ As it has always been the custom of the Church of France to propose canons,^b so the pence of his people, and is not embarrassed either with wife or children, &c.”—Addison, Suppl. to Travels of Misson, p. 126.

And Gibbon agrees, with like honesty, “ that if we calculate the advantages and the defects of ecclesiastical government, we may praise it in its actual state as a mild, decent, and peaceful administration, which has not to dread the dangers of a minority nor the impetuosity of a young prince, which is not undermined by luxury, and which is free from the horrors of war.”—Decline and Fall, &c. These two texts may stand in lieu of other quotations, and cannot be contradicted by any man of common honesty.

^a Serm. sur l'Unité, II^e point.

^b C'est une distraction, lisez DES CANONS.

Holy See has always been in the habit of lending a willing ear to such proposals."

But if there has always been something paternal in the government of the Holy See, and if it has always been its custom to listen willingly to particular Churches which asked canons of it, what signify those fears, those alarms, those restrictions, that fatiguing and endless appeal to the canons ?

The so justly celebrated sermon on the *Unity of the Church* will never be perfectly understood, if the difficult problem Bossuet had undertaken to solve in that discourse is not constantly borne in mind. He wished to establish the Catholic doctrine on the Roman supremacy without shocking an exasperated auditory, for whom he had very little esteem, and whom he believed too capable of some solemn act of folly. We could desire sometimes more candour in his expressions, if we lost sight for a moment of this general end.

What is his meaning, for instance, when he says (II^e point): "The power which must be acknowledged in the Holy See is so high and so eminent, so dear and so venerable to all the faithful, that there is nothing above the whole Catholic Church together?"

Would he mean by any chance that the **WHOLE** Church can exist where the Sovereign Pontiff is not? In this case he would have advanced a theory which even his great name could not excuse. Admit this absurd theory, and you will soon behold unity disappear by virtue of the *sermon on Unity*. To speak of a Church separated from its chief, is to speak without meaning. It is the British parliament *minus* the king.

What we read immediately after, regarding the *holy council* of Pisa and the *holy council* of Constantia, explains too clearly what precedes. It is a great misfortune that so many French theologians should have adhered to this council of Constantia, and thus have obscured the clearest ideas. The Roman lawyers have well said that "Laws take no trouble except with what occurs often, not with what happens once." An event, unexampled in the history of the

Church, rendered its Chief doubtful during forty years. It became necessary to do what had never been done before, and what will never, perhaps, be done again. The emperor assembled the bishops to the number of about two hundred. It was an *assembly*, and not a *council*. This assembly sought to give itself the authority which was wanting to it in removing all uncertainty as to the person of the Pope. It legislated on matters of faith; and why not? A provincial council may make statutes in regard to dogma; and if the Holy See approves the decision, cannot be disturbed. This is just what occurred in the case of the decisions of the council of Constantia on points of faith. It has been over and over again said, "that the Pope had approved them;" and once more, why not, if they were well founded? The Fathers of Constantia, although they by no means formed a council, were nevertheless an infinitely respectable assembly, both by the number and the character of its members; but in all that they were able to accomplish without the intervention of the Pope, and even whilst there existed not a Pope incontestably recognized, a country curate, or even a sacristan, was theologically as infallible as they; which hindered not Martin V. from approving as he did all that they had done, with a view to conciliation; and hence the council of Constantia became œcumenical, as had formerly become the second and the fifth general councils, by the adhesion of the Popes, who had not taken part in them either in person or by their legates.

Those persons, then, who are not sufficiently conversant with matters of this kind, must look well to what they read, when such statements as these are laid before them, "*that the Popes approved the decisions of the council of Constantia.*" They did, undoubtedly, approve the decisions carried in that assembly against the errors of Wickliffe and John Huss; but that the episcopal body separated from the Pope, and (even in opposition to the Pope) can make laws binding on the Holy See, and pronounce on dogma in a divinely infallible manner, is, to use the language of Bossuet, a *prodigious* proposition—less contrary, perhaps, to sound theology than to good logic.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTIA.

WHAT, then, must we think of that famous Session IV. in which the council (assembly) declares itself superior to the Pope? The answer is easy. It must be said that *the assembly spoke nonsense*, as have likewise done, since their time, the Long Parliament of England, and the Constituent Assembly, and the Legislative Assembly, and the National Convention, and the Five Hundred, and the Two Hundred, and the last Cortes of Spain—in a word, all imaginable assemblies, however numerous, but *without a president*.

Bossuet said, in 1681, foreseeing already what dangerous influences were destined to be at work the following year: "You know what assemblies are, and what spirit commonly prevails in them."^a

And Cardinal de Retz, who knew something of such things, had previously said in his memoirs, in a more general and striking manner, "WHOEVER ASSEMBLES THE PEOPLE EXCITES THEM TO DISORDER." This general maxim I apply only in the present case with the modifications which justice, and even respect, demand; but which, nevertheless, is incontestable.

The laws of fermentation are the same both in the moral and the physical order of things. It arises from contact, and is in proportion with the masses that ferment. Gather together men intoxicated by any passion whatsoever, it will not be long till you behold in rapid succession heat, exaltation, delirium—just as in the material circle turbulent fermentation leads rapidly to acidity, and thence to putrescence. Every assembly tends to follow this general law, if its development is not arrested by the cooling power of authority, which insinuates itself into the interstices, and puts the movement to death. Only imagine the position of the bishops of Constantia, agitated by all the passions of Europe, divided into nations, having opposite interests,

^a Bossuet, Lettre à l'Abbé de Rancé. Fontainebleau, Sept. 1681.—Hist. de Bossuet, liv. vi. No. 3, tome ii. p. 94.

fatigued by delay, rendered impatient by contradiction, separated from the cardinals, deprived of their centre, and, worst misfortune of all, influenced by discordant sovereigns; is it so wonderful that—pressed, besides, by the desire to put an end to the most deplorable schism that ever afflicted the Church, and in an age in which the compass of science had not yet assigned proper limits to men's ideas, as it has done in our days—those bishops should have said to themselves: “We cannot restore peace to the Church, and reform it in its Chief and its members, without commanding this Chief himself: let us declare, then, that he is bound to obey us?” Men of great genius in succeeding ages have not reasoned better. The assembly pronounced itself, then, in the first place, an œcumenical council; ^a this was quite necessary, in order to arrive at the consequence, “that every person, of whatever dignity or condition, even papal,^b was bound to obey the council in what regarded faith, and the extirpation of schism.” ^c

But what follows is perfectly ludicrous:—

“Our lord Pope John XXII. shall not transfer out of the town of Constantia the court of Rome nor its officers, and shall not constrain them, either directly or indirectly, to follow him, without the deliberation and consent of the council; in particular as regards the offices and officers whose absence might be the cause of the dissolution of the council, or be hurtful to it.” ^d

Thus the Fathers acknowledge that, by the departure of the Pope alone, the council is dissolved; and, in order to avert this misfortune, they forbid him to depart—that is to say, in other words, *that they pronounce themselves the superiors of Him whom they declare to be above them.* This is exquisite.

^a As certain states-general declared themselves a *national assembly*, in what regarded the constitution and the extirpation of abuses. Never was there parity more exact.

^b They do not venture to say plainly *the Pope*.

^c Session IV.

^d Fleury, liv. cii. No. 175.

The fifth session was only a repetition of the fourth.*

The Catholic world was at that time divided into three parties or *obediencies*, each of whom recognized a different Pope. Two of these obediencies (that of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) never received the decree of Constantia pronounced in the fourth session ; and since the obediencies were united, the council never attributed to itself, independently of the Pope, the right of *reforming the Church in the chief and in the members*. But in the session of the 30th October, 1417, Martin V. having been elected with unexampled unanimity, the council decreed that *the Pope himself should reform the Church, as well in its head as in its members, according to equity and the good government of the Church*.

The Pope, on the other hand, in the forty-fifth session, held 22nd April, 1417, approved all that the council had done IN A CONCILIATORY SPIRIT (this he repeats twice over), regarding *matters of faith*.

And some days earlier, by a bull of 10th March, he had forbidden appeals from the decrees of the Holy See, which he called *the Sovereign Judge* ; thus did the Pope *approve the Council of Constantia*.

Never was there anything so thoroughly null, or even so obviously ridiculous, as the fourth session of the Council of Constantia, which Providence and the Pope afterwards changed in council.

But if certain people will persist in saying *we admit the fourth session* (completely forgetting that the word *we*, in the Catholic Church, is mere nonsense, unless it refer to *all*), *we* shall let them talk ; and instead of laughing only at the fourth session, *we* shall laugh both at the fourth session and at those who refuse to laugh at it.

* There would be an infinity of things to say on these two sessions, on the manuscripts of Scheelestrate, on the objections of Arnaud and Bossuet, on the support which these manuscripts have derived from the precious discoveries made in the libraries of Germany, &c. &c. ; but if I plunged into these details, there would happen to me a small misfortune, which I should like, if possible, to avoid—that of not being read.

By virtue of the inevitable force of things, every assembly *that has no check is immoderate*. There may be a little more or a little less extravagance; it may occur a little sooner or a little later; but the law is infallible. Call to mind the follies of Basle. At that extraordinary council, some seven or eight persons, bishops and priests, declared themselves above the Pope; deposed him, even; and, to crown the work, pronounced all who should oppose them fallen from their dignities, *were they bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, kings, or emperors*.

These melancholy examples show what will always happen in similar circumstances. Never can peace prevail or be re-established in the Church, by the influence of an assembly *without a head*. Always to the Sovereign Pontiff, either alone or accompanied, must recourse be had; and the experience of all times speaks for this authority.

It may be observed that the French theologians who have believed themselves obliged to sustain the unsustainable Council of Constantia, never fail carefully to intrench themselves in the general assertion of the superiority of an œcumenical council over the Pope, without ever explaining what they mean by *an œcumenical council*; nothing more is necessary to show how much they feel embarrassed. Fleury shall speak for all:

“The Council of Constantia,” says he, “establishes the maxim *which has always been taught in France*,^a that every Pope is subject to the judgment of every general council in what regards faith.”^b

Pitiful reticence! unworthy, indeed, of such a man as Fleury! The question is not *whether a general council be above the Pope*, but *whether there can be a general council without the Pope, or independently of the Pope*; this is the question. Say at Rome that the Sovereign Pontiff has no right to abrogate the canons of the Council of Trent,

^a After all that has been laid before the reader, and especially after the declaration of 1626, how shall we designate this assertion?

^b Fleury, nouv. opusc. p. 44.

and assuredly you will not have to burn for it. The matter in question here is twofold. It is inquired, in the first place, *what is the essence of a general council, and what are the characteristics the slightest alteration of which destroys this essence?* It is asked, in the second place, *whether the council thus instituted be above the Pope?* To treat the latter question, leaving the former out of view—to speak in sounding terms of the superiority of councils over the Sovereign Pontiff, without knowing how to say, without being willing to say, without venturing to say, what an œcumenical council is—this, it must be candidly declared, is not only an error of mere dialectics, but a sin against honesty.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF CANONS IN GENERAL, AND APPEAL TO THEIR AUTHORITY.

IT follows not, however, that because the authority of the Pope is sovereign, it is above the laws, and can sport with them ; but those men who cease not to appeal to *the canons*, have a secret they are at pains to conceal, although under veils that are sufficiently transparent. The word *canons*, according to their theology, ought to be understood to express canons which they have made, or such as are pleasing to them. They venture not to say altogether that if the Pope thought proper to make new canons, they would have a right to reject them : but let us not be deceived ; if such be not their express words, there is no doubt as to their meaning.

The whole of this dispute on the observation of the canons is pitiful. Ask the Pope if he understands he is to govern without rule, and sport with the canons—you will horrify him. Ask all the bishops of the Catholic world if they understand that extraordinary circumstances may not render legitimate abrogations, exceptions, derogations, and whether sovereignty in the Church be grown sterile from age, so that it hath lost the right inherent in

all power to produce new laws in proportion as new wants require them—they will think that you are jesting.

It being impossible, therefore, that any man of sense should deny to any sovereignty whatever the power of making laws, of executing them, abrogating them, and dispensing with them, *when circumstances require it*; and no sovereignty claiming a right to use this power, except in such circumstances, what ground is there, I would ask, for discussion? What mean certain French theologians with their *canons*? and what, in particular, is Bossuet's meaning, with his great restriction, which he announces to us in whispers as a delicate mystery of ecclesiastical government: *the plenitude of power belongs to the chair of St. Peter, BUT we require that its exercise be regulated by the canons*?

When did the Popes ever make pretension to the contrary? When we have attained, as regards government, that degree of perfection which admits only of such defects as are inseparable from human nature, we must not think of proceeding farther, and of seeking in vain hypotheses the everlasting seeds of mistrust and rebellion. But, as I have already observed, Bossuet was resolved to satisfy both his conscience and his hearers; and, considering it in this point of view, his sermon on unity is one of the most powerful efforts known to exist. Each line is a study; every word is weighed; an *article* even, as we have seen, may be the result of profound deliberation. The extreme embarrassment of the illustrious orator hinders him often from employing language with that strictness which would have satisfied us if he had not dreaded to displease others. When he says, for instance, "In the chair of Saint Peter resides the plenitude of Apostolic power, but its exercise must be regulated by the canons, lest, raising itself above all, it should itself destroy its own decrees: **THUS IS THE MYSTERY UNDERSTOOD.**"^a Once more I ask pardon of the

^a A little lower down, he exclaims: "Do you now understand this immortal beauty of the Catholic Church?" By no means, my lord bishop, unless you condescend to add a few words.

celebrated shade of this great man, whilst I declare that, for me, the veil becomes thicker, and, far from understanding the mystery, I comprehend it less than before. We seek not a decision in regard to the moral law; we know already, and for some time back, *that a sovereign could not do better than govern well*. This mystery is indeed no great mystery; the question is to know whether the Sovereign Pontiff, being a *supreme power*,^a is by that same also a *legislative* power, in the full force of the term: if, in the mind of the illustrious Bossuet, that power be capable of *raising itself above every other*; whether the Pope be entitled, in any case, to abrogate or to modify any of his decrees; whether there be a power in the Church which has a right to *judge* whether the Pope has *rightly judged*, and what power that is; finally, whether a particular Church can have, in regard to the Pope, any other right than that of representation.

Bossuet, it is true, some twenty pages lower down, quotes without disapprobation the words of Charlemagne, *that although the Roman Church should impose an almost insupportable yoke, it would be our duty to suffer, rather than separate from her communion*.^b

It is, however, beyond dispute that, if the bishops assembled, *without the Pope*, can call themselves *the Church*, and arrogate to themselves any other power than that of certifying the person of the Pope, at those times—infinitely rare—when it might be doubtful, there is no longer unity, and the visible Church disappears.

On the whole, notwithstanding the numberless artifices of a learned and Catholic condescension, let us thank Bossuet for having said in this celebrated sermon, that the power of the Pope is *a supreme power*;^c that the Church is founded on its authority;^d that in the chair of St. Peter

^a *Supreme powers* (speaking of the Pope) *require to be informed*.—Sermon on Unity, III^e point.

^b *Ibid.* II^e point.

^c Sermon on the Unity of the Church, Works of Bossuet, tom. vii. p. 41.

^d *Vid. ibid.* p. 31.

resides the fulness of apostolical power ;^a that when the Pope is attacked, the entire episcopacy (that is, the Church) is in danger ;^b that there is ALWAYS something paternal in the Holy See ;^c that it can do all, although to do so would not always be suitable ;^d that, from the origin of Christianity, the Popes have ALWAYS professed, in causing the laws to be observed, to be the first to observe them ;^e that they maintain unity in the whole body, sometimes by inflexible decrees, and sometimes by wise expedients ;^f that the bishops have altogether but one chair, from the essential relation they all have with THE ONE CHAIR in which are seated St. Peter and his successors ; and that they ought, in consequence of this doctrine, all to act according to the spirit of Catholic unity, so that each bishop says nothing, does nothing, thinks nothing, which the universal Church may not acknowledge ;^g that power given to several is restricted by thus being portioned out ; whereas, power given to one, and over all, and without exception, implies plenitude ;^h that the eternal chair knows not heresy ;ⁱ that the faith of Rome is always the faith of the Church ; that the Roman Church is always pure ; and that all heresies have received from it either their first blow or their death-blow ;^j that the clearest mark of the aid which the Holy Ghost bestows on this mother of all churches consists in her being rendered so just and moderate that she has never given a place among her dogmas to any excess or exaggeration.^k

Thanks to Bossuet for what he has said ; and let us give him credit particularly for what he has prevented, but without forgetting that so long as we shall not speak more clearly than he has permitted himself to do in his memorable discourse, the unity which he recommends and celebrates dwindles to a vague idea, and no longer fixes our belief.

^a A Sermon on the Unity of the Church, Works of Bossuet, tom. vii. p. 14.

^b Vid. *ibid.* p. 25.

^c Vid. *ibid.* p. 41.

^d Vid. *ibid.* p. 31.

^e Vid. *ibid.* p. 32.

^f Vid. *ibid.* p. 29.

^g Vid. *ibid.* p. 16.

^h Vid. *ibid.* p. 14.

ⁱ Vid. *ibid.* p. 9.

^j Vid. *ibid.* p. 10.

^k Vid. *ibid.* p. 32.

Leibnitz, the greatest of Protestants, and perhaps the greatest of men in respect of science, made this objection to Bossuet in 1690, *that no agreement had ever yet been come to in the Roman Church as to the true subject or radical seat of infallibility,—some placing it in the Pope, others in a general council, although without the Pope, &c.**

Such is the result of the fatal system adopted by some theologians on the subject of councils, and founded principally on one unique fact, ill understood and ill explained because it is unique. In bringing forward the fundamental dogma of infallibility, they conceal the focus where it ought to be looked for.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXAMINATION OF A PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY RAISED AGAINST THE DECISIONS OF THE POPES.

THE doctrinal decisions of the Popes have always been law in the Church. The adversaries of pontifical supremacy, unable to deny this great fact, have sought, nevertheless, to explain it in their sense, maintaining that those decisions derived their strength from the consent of the Church; and, to establish this opinion, they observe that often before being received they have been examined in the councils with full information. Bossuet, especially, has made an effort of argumentation and erudition, in order to render this consideration as available as possible.

And, indeed, the paralogism is tolerably plausible, *that since the council has ordered a preliminary examination of a constitution of the Pope, it is proved that it did not consider it decisive.* It will therefore be useful to clear up this difficulty.

French writers, for the most part, since the time particularly that the mania of constitutions took possession of men's minds, all commence, without even perceiving that they do so, with the supposition of an imaginary law, an-

* See his correspondence with Bossuet.

terior to all facts, and which has directed them all ; inso-much, that if the Pope, for instance, be sovereign in the Church, all the acts recorded in ecclesiastical history ought to bear witness to this fact, bending uniformly, and without a struggle, to this supposition ; and that, supposing the contrary, all these facts ought, in like manner, to contradict the fact of the Pope's sovereignty.

Now, there is nothing more false than this supposition, and things are by no means as they are here described. Never did any important institution result from a law, and the greater the institution, the less is it written. It is formed of itself by the concurrence of a thousand agents, who are almost always ignorant of what they are doing ; so that they often appear not to perceive the right which they themselves are establishing. The institution vegetates thus insensibly in the course of ages : "*Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo*" is the never-failing device of every great political or religious creation. Had St. Peter a distinct knowledge of the extent of his prerogative, and of the questions it would cause to arise in after-times ? I know not. When, after a wise deliberation bestowed upon the examination of an important question at the time, he was the first to speak in the Council of Jerusalem, and that *all the multitude held their tongue*,^a St. James, even, having spoken in his turn from his patriarchal chair, only to confirm what the chief of the apostles had just decided, did St. Peter act *with* or *in virtue of* a clear and distinct knowledge of his prerogative ?—or, in thus creating for his character this magnificent testimony, did he act only from an interior movement, apart from all rational contemplation ? Still I know not.

By way of general theory, curious questions might be raised ; but I should dread plunging into subtleties ; and instead of offering merely newness of argument, producing something wholly new ; which would annoy me exceedingly. It is far better to hold to simple and purely practical ideas.

The authority of the Pope in the Church, in relation to

^a Acts xv. 12.

dogmatical questions, has always been marked with the impress of the highest wisdom. It has never shown itself precipitate, haughty, insulting, despotical. It has been its invariable custom to hear all, even rebels, when they desired to defend themselves. Why, then, should it have opposed the examination of one of its decisions in a general council? This examination rests entirely on the condescension of the Popes, and thus have they always understood it. It never will be proved that the councils took cognizance, *as judges, properly so called*, of the dogmatical decisions of the Popes, and that they thus arrogated to themselves the right of accepting or rejecting them.

A striking exemplification of this theory is found in the so often quoted Council of Chalcedon. The Pope there permitted, indeed, that his letter should be examined; and meanwhile he never maintained, in a solemn manner, the *irreformability* of his dogmatical judgments.

In order that the facts should be contrary to this theory, that is, to the supposition of pure condescension, there must be, at the same time (as those, particularly, who are learned in the law well understand), contradiction on the part of the Popes, and judgment by the councils, which has never been the case.

But it must be particularly observed that the French theologians are, of all men in the world, those whom it would least become to reject this distinction. None have made more than they have done of the right of bishops to receive the dogmatical decisions of the Holy See, *with knowledge of cause, and as judges of faith*.^a Nevertheless, no Gallican bishop would arrogate to himself the right of declaring false, and of rejecting as such, a dogmatical decision of the Holy Father. He knows that such judgment would be criminal, and even ridiculous.

There is, therefore, some distance between the purely passive obedience which registers a law in silence, and the superiority which examines it with power to reject it.

^a This right was exercised in the affairs of Fenelon in a very amusingly pompous manner.

Now, it is in this medium that Gallican writers will find the solution of a difficulty which has made much noise, but which, notwithstanding, comes to be nothing when narrowly inquired into. General councils can, no doubt, examine the dogmatical decrees of the Popes, in order to penetrate their meaning, to explain them to themselves and to other men, to compare them with the Scriptures, with tradition, and with preceding councils, in order to reply to objections, in order to render those decisions agreeable, plausible, evident to the obstinacy which repels them; in a word, to pass judgment on them, as the Gallican Church passes judgment on a dogmatical constitution of the Pope before accepting it.

Has this Church the right to *pass judgment*, in the full sense of the term, on one of these decrees; that is, to accept it or reject it, even, if need be, to declare it heretical? It will reply, *that it has not*; for, after all, the first of its attributes is common sense.*

But, since it has no right to judge, why does it discuss? Is it not better to accept humbly, and without previous examination, a determination which it is not entitled to con-

* Bercastel, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has, however, discovered a very ingenious method of placing the bishops at their ease, and of conferring on them the power of judging the Pope. "The judgment of the bishops," says he, "is not exercised on the judgment of the Pope, but on the matters he has judged." So that, if the Sovereign Pontiff decided, for instance, that such a proposition is scandalous and heretical, the French bishops cannot say that he is wrong: they can only decide that the proposition is edifying and orthodox.

"The bishops," continues the same writer, "follow the same rules as the Pope, Scripture, and tradition, and particularly the tradition of their own churches, in order to examine and to pronounce according to the measure of authority they have received from Jesus Christ, whether the doctrine proposed be conformable or contrary thereto."—*Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. xxiv. p. 93, cited by M. de Barral, No. 31, p. 305.

This theory of Bercastel would present a weak side to severe reflections, if it were not known that it was nothing else than an innocent artifice on the part of the estimable author, in order to escape the parliaments, and make the rest go down.

tradict? To this, also, it will say NO; and yet, it will insist on examining.

Well, let it not tell us any more that the dogmatical decisions of the Sovereign Pontiffs, pronounced *ex cathedrâ*, are not without appeal, since certain councils have examined some of them before changing them into canons.

When, at the commencement of the last century, Leibnitz, corresponding with Bossuet on the great question of the re-union of the Churches, required, as an indispensable preliminary, that the Council of Trent should be declared *not œcumenical*, Bossuet, justly inflexible on this point, declares to him, nevertheless, that all that can be done, in order to facilitate this *great work*, is to revise the council *by way of explanation*. Let him no longer, therefore, express astonishment that the Popes should have permitted their decisions to be reviewed, *by way of explanation*.

Cardinal Orsi addresses to him on this subject an argument which appears to me unanswerable :

“The Greeks accused us,” says he, “in beginning by the exposition of facts, of having decided the question without them, and they appealed from our decisions to a general council. Whereupon Pope Eugenius said to them : *I propose to you to choose between four things* : 1. *Are you convinced, by all the authorities we have quoted to you, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son? This settles the question.* 2. *If you are not convinced, tell us in what respect the proof appears to you weak, in order that we may add to our proofs, and so prove this dogma even to demonstration.* 3. *If, on your part, you know texts favourable to your opinion, quote them.* 4. *If all this does not suffice, let us proceed to a general council.* Let us swear all, Greeks and Latins, to speak freely the truth, and to hold to that which shall appear true to the greater number.”^a

Thus Orsi says to Bossuet : “*Either grant that the*

^a Jusjurandum demus, Latini pariter ac Græci.... Proferatur liberè veritas per juramentum, et quod pluribus videbitur, hoc amplectemur et nos et vos.

Council of Lyons (the most general of all the general councils) *was not œcumenical, or admit that the examination of the letters of the Popes made in a council proves nothing against infallibility, since it was agreed that the question decided in that of Lyons should be brought forward anew, and was indeed brought forward in the Council of Florence.*"^a

I know not what a sincere mind could reply to what has just been read. As to the spirit of contention, no reasoning can reach it. Let us wait until it please it to entertain the same opinion in regard to councils as the councils themselves.

CHAPTER XV.

INFALLIBILITY DE FACTO.

IF, from the question of right, we pass to that of facts, which are the touchstone of right, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Chair of St. Peter, considered in the certainty of its decisions, is naturally an incomprehensible phenomenon. Replying to the whole world for eighteen centuries, how often have the Popes been found to be *incontestably* wrong? Never. Cavils have been raised; but never has it been found possible to allege anything decisive.

Among Protestants, and even in France, as I have often remarked, the idea of infallibility has been amplified to such a degree, as to render it a ridiculous bugbear. It is therefore quite essential to form a clear and perfectly well-defined idea of it.

The defenders of this great privilege say, then, and say

^b Jos. August. Orsi. de irreform. Rom. Pontific. in definiendis fidei controversiis judicio. Romæ, 1772, 3 vols. in 4to. tom. i. lib. i. cap. xxxvii. art. i. p. 81.

The bishops of a national church, and likewise even individual bishops, have often been known in the Church to confirm the decrees of general councils. Orsi gives examples taken from the fourth, fifth, and sixth general councils.—Ibid. lib. ii. cap. i. art. civ. p. 104.

nothing more, than that the Sovereign Pontiff, speaking in freedom^a to the Church, and as the schools say, "ex cathedrâ," never erred, and never will err, in matter of faith.

By what has occurred until now, I do not see that this proposition has been refuted. All that has been said against the Popes, in order to make out that they have erred, is either without solid grounds, or beyond the range which I have just defined.

The criticism which has taken delight in counting the faults of the Popes loses not a minute in ecclesiastical history, but proceeds at once to St. Peter. With him it begins its catalogue; and, although the fault of the Prince of the Apostles be a fact wholly foreign to the question, it has not been the less adverted to by all the books of the *opposition* as the first proof of the fallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff. I shall cite, on this point, a writer the most recent, if I mistake not, amongst Frenchmen of the episcopal order who have written against the great prerogative of the Holy See.^b

He had to repel the solemn and embarrassing testimony of the clergy of France, declaring, in 1625, that *infallibility has always remained firm and immoveable in the successors of St. Peter.*

To get rid of this difficulty, see what the learned prelate has fallen upon:—"The indefectibility," says he, "or infallibility which has remained until this day firm and immoveable in the successors of St. Peter, is not undoubtedly of another kind than that with which was invested the Chief of the Apostles by virtue of the prayer of Jesus Christ. Now, the event proved that indefectibility, or in-

^a By this word *freely*, I mean, that neither torments, nor persecution, nor violence in any shape, shall have been able to deprive the Sovereign Pontiff of the liberty of mind which ought to preside over his decisions.

^b *Defence of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, and of the Assembly of the Clergy of France, held in 1682.* Paris, 1817, in 4to. By the late M. Louis Matthias de Barral, Archbishop of Tours, pp. 327, 328, 329.

fallibility in faith, did not shield him from a fall; therefore," &c. And, lower down, he adds:—"Falsely exaggerated are the effects of Christ's intercession, which was the pledge of the stability of the faith of Peter, without, nevertheless, hindering his humbling fall."

Behold thus theologians, bishops even (I cite only one, as representing all who hold similar views), advancing, or at least supposing, without the least doubt, that the Catholic Church was established, and that St. Peter was Sovereign Pontiff before the death of our Saviour.

They had read, notwithstanding, just as we have done, that "where there is a testament the death of the testator must of necessity come in. For a testament is of force after men are dead; otherwise it is as yet of no strength whilst the testator yet liveth."^a

They could not fail to know that the Church had its birth in the cenaculum, and that before the descent of the Holy Ghost there was no Church.

They had read the great oracle, "It is expedient to you that I go; for if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you. But when the Paraclete cometh . . . he shall give testimony of me; and you shall give testimony, because you are with me from the beginning."^b

Before this solemn mission, therefore, there was no Church, nor Sovereign Pontiff, nor Apostolate properly so called; all was in germ, in a state of possible and expectative existence, and in this state even the heralds of the truth gave proof only of ignorance and weakness.

Nicole has called attention to this truth in his catechism (*Catéchisme Raisonné*):—"Before having received the Holy Ghost," says he, "on the day of Pentecost, the Apostles appeared weak in faith, timid in regard to men, &c. . . . But since Pentecost, we behold only their confidence, their joy in sufferings," &c.^c

^a Heb. ix. 16 and 17.

^b John xvi. 7, xv. 26 and 27.

^c Nicole, *Instruc. Théol. et Mor. sur les Sacrements*. Paris, 1725.

We have just heard the truth speak ; we shall now hear it thunder :—“ Was it not astonishing, miraculous, to behold the Apostles, the moment they received the Holy Ghost, as penetrated with the light of God, as they had been until then ignorant and full of errors . . . so long as they had Jesus Christ alone for their teacher ! O, adorable, unfathomable mystery ; Jesus Christ, all God that he was, had not sufficed, it appears, to make them comprehend the heavenly doctrine he came to establish on the earth ‘and they understood none of these things.’^a Why? because they had not yet received the Spirit of God, and because all those truths are such as only the Spirit of God can teach. But, at the very moment the Holy Ghost is given to them, those truths, which had appeared to them so incredible, became clear to them,” &c.^b That is to say, the *testament is opened*, and the Church begins.

If I have insisted on this miserable objection, it is because it is the first which presents itself, and because it serves admirably to place in its full light the spirit which governs this discussion on the part of the adversaries of the great prerogative—a spirit of cavil, envious to death of being in the right—quite natural, indeed, in every dissenter, but in Catholics wholly inexplicable.

The plan of my work does not permit me to discuss one by one the pretended errors with which the Popes are reproached ; and the more so, as everything has been said on this subject. I shall allude only to the two points which have been discussed with the greatest ardour, and which appear to me capable of being put in a clearer light ; *the rest does not merit the honour of being adverted to.*

The Italian doctors have observed that Bossuet, who, in his *Defence of the Declaration*,^c had at first argued, like all the rest from the fall of Pope Liberius, to establish the principal of the four propositions, retrenched the whole

^a Luke xviii. 34.

^b Bourdaloue, Serm. sur la Pentecôte, première partie, sur le texte : Repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto.—Myst. tom. i.

^c Liv. ix. cap. xxxiv.

chapter relating thereto, as may be seen in the edition of 1745. I am not at present in a position to verify this statement, but I have not the least reason to mistrust my authors; and the new History of Bossuet, moreover, leaves not the slightest doubt as to the repentance of this great man.

We there read that Bossuet, in the confidence of conversation, said one day to Abbe Ledieu, "*I have effaced from my Treatise on Ecclesiastical Power all that regards Pope Liberius, AS NOT PROVING VERY WELL WHAT I INTENDED TO ESTABLISH IN THAT PLACE.*"^a

It was a great misfortune for Bossuet to have to retract on such a point; but he saw that the argument founded on Liberius could not be sustained.

So little could be made of it, indeed, that the Centuriators of Magdeburg not only did not venture to condemn this Pope, but even absolved him.

"Liberius," writes St. Athanasius, quoted word for word by the Centuriators, "overcome by the sufferings of two years' banishment, and by the threat of punishment, subscribed at last the condemnation which was required of him; but violence did everything, and the aversion of Liberius to heresy is not less undoubted, than that his opinion was in favour of Athanasius; this sentiment he would have manifested if he had been free."^b St. Athanasius concludes with this remarkable sentence:—"Violence proves clearly the intention of him who makes another tremble, but by no means that of him who trembles,"^c—a maxim decisive in this case.

The Centuriators quote with the same exactness other

^a Tom. ii. Pièces justific. du quatrième livre, p. 390.

^b Liberium post exactum in exilio biennium, inflexum minisque mortis ad subscriptionem contra Athanasium inductum fuisse . . . Verum illud ipsum et eorum violentiam et Liberii in hæresim odium et suum pro Athanasio suffragium, quum liberos effectus haberet, satis coarguit.

^c Quæ enim per tormenta contra priorem ejus sententiam extorta sunt, eo jam non metuentium, sed cogentium voluntates habendæ sunt.

writers who show themselves less favourable to Liberius, without, however, denying *the sufferings of exile*. But the historians of Magdeburg evidently lean towards the opinion of St. Athanasius:—"It appears," say they, "that all that has been related regarding the subscription of Liberius nowise concerns assenting to the Arian dogma, but only the condemnation of Athanasius.* That he subscribed with his tongue rather than his mind, as Cicero said of the oath of some one, is abundantly evident. That Athanasius excused him, clearly proves that he remained firm in the profession of the Nicene faith."^b

What a spectacle is not that of Bossuet accusing a Pope who stands exculpated by the *élite* of Calvinism! Who could refrain from applauding the sentiments he confided to his secretary?

The plan of my work not admitting of details, I refrain from inquiring whether the passage of St. Athanasius just quoted be open to suspicion in some points—whether the fall of Liberius can be denied purely and simply as an "ingenious device"^c—whether, on the contrary supposition, Liberius subscribed the first or the second formula

* *Quanquam hæc de subscriptione in Athanasium ad quam Liberius impulsus sit, non de consensu in dogmate cum Arianis dici videntur.*

^b *Linguâ eum superscripsisse magis quàm mente, quod de juramento cujusdam Cicero dixit, omninò videtur, quemadmodum et Athanasius eum excusavit Constantem certè in professione fidei Nicænæ mansisse indicat.—Centuriæ Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ per aliquos studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgicâ et Basileæ per Joannem Oporinum, 1562. Cent. iv. c. x. p. 1184.*

^c Some learned men have thought this opinion could be held.—See Dissert. sur le Pape Libère, dans laquelle on fait voir qu'il n'est pas tombé. Paris, chez Lemesle, 1726, in 12mo. Francisci Antonii Zachariæ P. S. Dissertatio de Commentitio Liberii Lapsu. In Thes. Theol. Ven. 1762, in 4to. tom. ii. p. 580, et seq.

"*Ingenious device.*" We are indebted to a modern controvertist of some notoriety for this expression, by which it has been thought not inappropriate in the present case to render "*fait controuvé*," Every one knows that the words "*ingenious device*" were made use of by the champion in question to express, or rather to palliate, a manifest forgery.

of Sirmium. I shall limit myself to quoting a few lines of the learned Archbishop Mansi, who made a collection of the Councils ; they will prove, perhaps, to some prejudiced minds that "there is a little sound sense within the borders of Italy."

"Supposing that Pope Liberius did subscribe to Arianism (which he by no means granted), did he speak on that occasion as Pope, *ex cathedrâ*? What Councils did he convene previously in order to examine the question? If none, what doctors did he summon around him? What congregations did he institute to define the dogma? What public and solemn prayers did he appoint for invoking the aid of the Holy Ghost? If he did not take these preliminary steps, he no longer taught as the master and teacher of all the faithful. And when he does not so act, be it known to Bossuet, the Roman Pontiff is not acknowledged by us to be infallible." ^a

Orsi is still more precise and exacting.^b A great number of similar testimonies are found in Italian books, *sed Græcis incognita, qui sua tantum mirantur.*

The only Pope who can occasion legitimate doubts, less on account of his faults than because of the condemnation to which he has been subjected, is Honorius. What signifies, however, the condemnation of a man and a sovereign pontiff, pronounced forty-two years after his death? One of those wretched sophists who too frequently dishonoured the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, a scourge of the Church and of common sense, Sergius, in short, patriarch of C. P., fell upon inquiring, at the commencement of the seventh century, *whether there were two wills in Jesus Christ?* Determined on maintaining the negative, he consulted Pope Honorius in ambiguous terms. The Pope, who perceived not the snare, thought that there

^a Sed ita non egit; non definivit ex cathedrâ, non docuit tanquam omnium fidelium magister ac doctor. Ubi verò ita non se gerat, sciat Bossuet, Romanum Pontificem infallibilem à nobis non agnoscì. Voy. la note de Mansi, dans l'ouvrage cité, p. 568.

^b Orsi, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xxiv. p. 118.

was question of two human wills ; that is to say, of the double law which afflicts our unfortunate nature, and which was certainly wholly foreign to our Saviour. Honorius, moreover, outstepping, perhaps, the general maxims of the Holy See, which dreads, above all things, new questions and precipitate decisions, desired that there should be no mention of two wills, and wrote in this sense to Sergius. By thus proceeding, he may have fallen into what may be termed a *fault of administration* ; for if he was wanting in anything on this occasion, it was in regard to the rules of government and of prudence. He miscalculated, it may be admitted ; he saw not the fatal consequences of the measures he considered it fitting and in his power to have recourse to ; but in all that he did we discover not any derogation from the dogma of the Church,—any theological error. That Honorius understood the question as here supposed, is at once demonstrated by the direct and irrefragable testimony of the very man whose pen he employed in writing his letter to Sergius,—the Abbé John Sympon, who, only three years after the death of Honorius, wrote thus to the Emperor Constantine, son of Heraclius :—“ When we spoke of one will in our Lord, we had not in view *his twofold nature*, but only his humanity. Sergius, indeed, having maintained that there were in Jesus Christ two contrary wills, we said that these two wills, that of the *flesh* and that of the *spirit*, as in ourselves from original sin, could not be recognized in him.”^a

And what more decisive can there be than these words of Honorius himself, quoted by Saint Maximus :—“ There is but one will in Jesus Christ ; since, *without doubt*, the Divinity had clothed itself with our nature, but not with our sin ; and that thus all *carnal* thoughts were wholly foreign to him.”^b

^a See Car. Sardagna Theolog. dogm. polem. in 8vo. 1810, tom. i. controv. ix. in Append. de Honorio, No. 305, p. 293.

^b Quia profecto à divinitate assumpta est natura nostra, non culpa . . . absque carnalibus voluntatibus. (Extract from the Letter of Saint Maximus ad Marinum Presbyterum. See Jac.

If the letters of Honorius had really contained the venom of Monothelism, how imagine that Sergius, who had taken his stand, would not have made haste to give to his writings all the publicity in his power? This, however, he did not do. He concealed, on the contrary, the letters (or the letter) of Honorius during the whole lifetime of this pontiff, who yet survived two years; a circumstance which must not be overlooked. But immediately after the death of Honorius, which happened in 638, the patriarch of C. P., no longer under restraint, published his explanation or *ecthesis*, so famous in the ecclesiastical history of the period. Nevertheless, and this is also very remarkable, he quoted not the letters of Honorius. During the forty-two years which followed the death of this Pontiff, the Monothelites never spoke of the second of these letters; *for the good reason, that it was not yet conceded*. Pyrrhus, even, in the celebrated dispute with St. Maximus, dares not maintain that *Honorius had imposed silence on the subject of one or two operations*. He confines himself to saying vaguely that *this Pope had approved the sentiments of Sergius on one will only*.

The Emperor Heraclius, exculpating himself, in the year 641, to Pope John IV., on account of the part he had taken in the affair of Monothelism, observes silence with regard to these letters, as does also the Emperor Constans II., in his apology addressed in 619 to Pope Martin, on the subject of the *type*—another imperial folly of that period. Now, once more, how can it be imagined that these discussions, and so many others of the same description, should not have induced some public appeal to the decisions of Honorius, if they had been looked upon at that time as infected with the Monothelite heresy!

Let us add, that if this Pontiff had observed silence, after Sergius had declared himself, an argument might have been taken from his silence, inasmuch as it would have been considered a culpable commentary on his letters; but

Syrmondi, Soc. Jesu Presbyter, *opera varia* in fol. ex typog. regiâ, tom. iii. Paris, 1696, p. 481.)

he ceased not, as long as he lived, to raise his voice against Sergius, to threaten him, and to condemn him. St. Maximus of Constantinople is yet another illustrious witness on this interesting fact :

“ We cannot but laugh,” says he, “ or rather, to speak more appropriately, weep over those unfortunate men (Sergius and Pyrrhus), who dare to quote pretended decisions favourable to their impious *ecthesis*, endeavour to place in their ranks the great Honorius, and fortify themselves in the eyes of the world with the authority of a man eminent in the cause of religion. . . . Who could have inspired those forgers with so much audacity? What pious and orthodox man, what bishop, what Church has not conjured them to abandon heresy? And, above all, what has not the DIVINE Honorius done?”^a

Here, it must be owned, we have rather a singular heretic!

And moreover Pope St. Martin, who died in 655, says, in his letter to Arnaud d’Utrecht: “ The Holy See has not ceased to exhort them (Sergius and Pyrrhus), to warn, to reprimand, to threaten them, in order to bring them back to the truth which they had betrayed.”^b Now, chronology shows that there can be question here of no other than

^a Quæ hos (Monothelitas) non rogavit Ecclesia, &c., quid autem et DIVINUS Honorius? (S. Max. Mart. Epist. ad Petrum illustrem, apud Syrm. ubi suprâ, p. 489.)

Great attention is necessary to read this letter, of which we possess only a Latin translation, executed by a Greek who did not know Latin. Not only is the Latin phraseology extremely confused, but the translator allows himself, moreover, the privilege of fabricating words for his convenience; as in the following phrase for instance: “ Nec adversus apostolicam sedem mentiri *pigrîtati* sunt,” where the verb *pigrîtari* is obviously made use of to render *δρνεῖν*, the Latin equivalent of which did not occur to the mind of the translator. He probably did not know the word *pigror*, which, however, is Latin. *Pigrîtor*, too, or *pigrîto*, belongs to less classical Latin. (De Imitatione Christi, lib. i. cap. xxv. No. 8.)

^b Joh. Domin. Mansi Sac. Concil. nov. et ampliss. Collectio. Florentiæ, 1764, in fol. tom. x. p. 1186.

Honorius, since Sergius survived him only two months ; and that, after the death of Honorius, the pontifical chair was vacant during nineteen months.

Before writing to the Pope, Sergius wrote to Cyrus of Alexandria, "that, for the sake of peace, it appeared useful to observe silence on the two wills, on account of the twofold danger of shaking, on the one hand, the dogma of the two natures, or of opposing two opposite wills in Jesus Christ, if profession were made of two wills." *

But where would the contradiction be, if there were not question of a twofold human will? It appears evident, therefore, that the discussion first arose on the human will, and that there was question only of knowing whether our Saviour, in clothing himself with our nature, had subjected himself to that double law which is the punishment of original guilt and the torment of our life.

In matters so elevated and so subtle, ideas meet and are easily confounded together, if we are not much upon our guard. Is it inquired, for instance, without any explanation, whether there are two wills in Jesus Christ? It is clear that the Catholic can reply yes, or no, without ceasing to be orthodox. Yes, if we contemplate the two natures united without confusion ; no, if we consider only the human nature, exempt, by its august association, from the twofold law which degrades us ; no, if there be question solely of excluding the twofold human will ; yes, if we desire to confess the double nature of the man-God.

Thus, the word *Monothelism*, of itself, expresses not a heresy ; we must explain and show what is the subject-matter of the word. If it relates to the humanity of our Saviour, it is legitimate ; if applied to the person of the God-man, it becomes heterodox.

In reflecting on the words of Sergius, such as we have just read them, we feel inclined to believe that, after the fashion of all other heretics, he started not from a fixed

* These are the very words of Sergius in his letter to Honorius. —Apud Petrum Ballerinum de vi ac ratione primatûs summorum Pontificum, &c., Veronæ, 1766, in 4to. cap. xv. No. 35, p. 305.

point, and that he had not a very distinct idea of his own views, which the keen disputes that afterwards ensued served to clear up and determine.

This same confusion of ideas which we observe in the writing of Sergius, had some place in the mind of the Pope, who was not prepared. He shuddered on perceiving, even indistinctly, the advantage the Greek spirit was about to take of this question, once more to unsettle the Church. Without pretending to exculpate him altogether, since great theologians have thought that he was wrong in employing on this occasion too much political wisdom, I acknowledge, nevertheless, that I am not much astonished he should have endeavoured to stifle this dispute at its commencement.

However this may be, since Honorius said solemnly to Sergius, in his second letter, produced in the sixth council: "Take great care you do not publish that I decided anything as to one or two wills;"* how can there be question of the error of Honorius, who decided nothing? Surely, to be mistaken, one must affirm something. Unfortunately, his prudence deceived him more than he could have imagined; the question becoming embittered every day more and more, in proportion as the heresy was developed, men began to speak harshly of Honorius and his letters. At last, forty-two years after his death, these letters are produced, in the twelfth and thirteenth sessions of the sixth council, and without any defence beforehand, or preliminary proceeding whatsoever, Honorius is anathematized, at least according to the acts of the council, such as they have come down to us. Nevertheless, when a tribunal condemns a man to death, it is customary that it should say on what grounds it does so. If Honorius had lived at the time of the sixth council, he would have been cited, he

* Non nos oportet unam vel duas operationes DEFINIENTES predicare.—Baller. loco citato, No. 35, p. 306. It would be superfluous to call attention to the Greek turn of these expressions, translated from a translation. The most precious Latin originals have perished. The Greeks wrote what they liked.

would have appeared, he would have adduced in his favour the reasons which we are bringing forward to-day, and many more besides, which time and the malice of men have suppressed . . . But, what do I say? he would have come himself to preside over the council; he would have said to the bishops so desirous of avenging on a Roman Pontiff the hideous stains of the patriarchal see of Constantinople: "My brethren, God abandons you most assuredly, since you presume to judge the chief of the Church, who is established judge over yourselves. I need not your assembly to condemn Monothelism. What can you say which I have not already said? My decisions suffice to the Church. I withdraw from the council, and so dissolve it."

Honorius, as we have seen, ceased not, till his last breath, to profess, to teach, to defend the truth; to exhort, to threaten, to reprimand those same Monothelites, whose opinions, it is desired to make us believe, he had embraced; Honorius in his second letter (let us take it, word for word, as authentic), expresses the dogma in a manner which extorted the approbation of Bossuet.* Honorius died in possession of his see and of his dignity, without having ever, since the unfortunate correspondence with Sergius, written a line, or uttered a word, which history has marked as affording ground for suspicion. His remains reposed peacefully, and with honour, in the Vatican; his images continued to shine in the church, and his name in the sacred dyptics. A holy martyr, whose

* But the manner in which he expresses himself is remarkable. Bossuet agrees, *Honorii verba orthodoxa MAXIME videri* (lib. vii. al. xii. Defens. c. xxii.) *Jamais homme dans l'univers ne fut aussi maître de sa plume. On croirait, au premier coup d'œil, pouvoir traduire en Français: L'expression d'Honorius semble très-orthodoxe. Mais l'on se tromperait. Bossuet n'a pas dit maxime orthodoxa videri; mais orthodoxa maxime videri. Le maxime frappe sur videri, et non sur orthodoxa. Qu'on essaie de rendre cette finesse en Français. Il faudrait pouvoir dire, l'expression d'Honorius très-sembler orthodoxe. La vérité entraîne le grand homme qui très-sembler lui résister un peu.*

N.B.—The pith of this note would be entirely lost in an English version.

relics enrich our altars, called him, soon after his death, a DIVINE MAN. In the eighth general council held at C.P., the fathers, that is, the entire East, presided over by the Patriarch of C.P., profess solemnly *that it was not permitted to forget the promises made to Peter by our Saviour, and the truth of which was confirmed by experience, since the Catholic faith had always subsisted without stain, and the pure doctrine had been taught INVARIABLY in the Apostolic See.*^a

Since the affair of Honorius, and on all possible occasions of which the one just alluded to is the most remarkable, the Popes have never ceased to claim this praise, and to behold it generally attributed to them.

After that, I must own I can no longer understand the condemnation of Honorius. If some Popes, his successors, Leo II. for instance, have appeared not to raise their voice against the Hellenisms of Constantinople, we must praise their honesty, their modesty, and, above all, their prudence; but all they may have said in this way is by no means dogmatical, and so the facts remain worth what they are worth.

Everything well considered, the justification of Honorius is far from appearing to me the greatest difficulty; but I have no mind to raise the dust, and expose myself to the risk of clouding the path.

If the Popes had frequently laid themselves open to attack by *hazarding* decisions, I should not be astonished to hear both sides of the question discussed, and would be much inclined, in doubtful cases, to assume the negative, for with doubtful arguments we cannot rest satisfied.

But the Popes, on the contrary, having never ceased, during eighteen centuries, to pronounce on all kinds of questions with prudence and accuracy truly miraculous, in-

^a Hæc quæ dicta sunt rerum probantur effectibus, quia in sede apostolicâ est semper catholica servata religio et sanctè celebrata doctrina.—Act. I. Syn.

Vid. Nat. Alexandri dissertatio de Photiano schismate, et viii. Syn. C. P. in Thesaurò Theologico. Venetiis, 1762, in 4to. tom. ii. § xiii. p. 657.

asmuch as their decisions have invariably been independent of the moral tendency of the passions of the oracle—that oracle a man,—a small number of circumstances, more or less open to doubt, cannot be construed to the prejudice of the Popes without violating all the laws of probability, which, nevertheless, must always be held as sovereign throughout the world.

When any power, of what order soever it may be, has always acted consistently, and if there should be found a very small number of cases in which it may appear to have derogated from its custom, we ought not to admit anomalies before having endeavoured to bend those phenomena to the general rule ; and even though there should not be means of perfectly clearing up the problem, we ought never to come to any other conclusion than that we are ignorant.

It is, therefore, very unworthy of a Catholic, a man of the world even, to write against this magnificent, this divine privilege of the Chair of St. Peter. As to the priest who indulges in so great an abuse of talent and erudition, he is blind, and worse ; if I am not fearfully deceived, he derogates from his character. Even that man who, without reference to his state of life, should hesitate as to the theory, ought always to acknowledge the truth of the fact, and agree that the Sovereign Pontiff never fell into error ; he ought at least to lean cordially towards this belief, instead of lowering himself to college wranglings in order to shake it. We are tempted to say, in reading certain writers of this description, that they are defending a personal right against a foreign usurper, whilst in reality there is question of a privilege as favourable to them as it is well founded—an invaluable gift imparted to the universal family as much as to the common father.

In treating the affair of Honorius, I have not at all touched upon the great question of the falsification of the acts of the Sixth Council, which authors entitled to respect have nevertheless considered proved. Having said enough to satisfy every candid and equitable mind, I am not obliged to say everything that can be said ; I shall only

add some reflections, which I believe are not altogether useless, on ancient and modern writing.

Among the mysteries of language, so numerous and so profound, may be distinguished that of an unaccountable correspondence between each tongue and the characters destined to represent it by writing. This analogy is such, that the least change in the style of a language is immediately announced by a change in its writing, although the necessity for this change is by no means obvious to reason. Examine our language in particular: the handwriting of Amyot is as different from that of Fenelon as the style of the two writers. Each century may be recognized by its writing, because the languages changed; but when the latter become stationary, the writing becomes so likewise; that of the seventeenth century, for instance, still belongs to us, with the exception of some slight variations, the causes of which are not always perceptible. Thus, in the last century, France, having allowed the genius of the English to pervade it, there might immediately be recognized several English forms in the handwriting of the French. The mysterious relation between languages and the signs of writing is such, that if a tongue stutters, the writing will likewise do so; and if a language is vague, confused, and its syntax difficult, the writing will be proportionally devoid of elegance and perspicuity.

What I say here, however, can only be said of current writing, that of inscriptions having always been proof against arbitrary use and variation; but the latter, by this very reason, has no peculiarity in relation to the person who employed it. It is like geometrical figures, of which there can be no counterfeit, as they are the same for all.

The authors of the translation of the New Testament called of *Mons*, observe, in their preliminary notice, *that the modern tongues are infinitely more clear and fixed than the ancient languages.*^a I speak not of Oriental languages,

^a *Mons*, chez Mignot (Rouen, chez Viret), 1673, in 8vo. Avert. p. iii.

which are veritable enigmas ; but Greek and Latin even justify the truth of this observation.

Now, by a necessary consequence, modern writing is more clear and fixed than ancient. What we call *character*, that something which distinguishes handwritings as well as physiognomies, was far less marked and less striking in antiquity than amongst us. An ancient who received a letter from his best friend could not be quite sure, from the mere examination of the writing, whether the letter were from that friend. Hence the importance of the *seal*, which was much preferred to the *handwriting*, or adhibiting of the name.^a The Latin who said "I have signed this letter," signified that the writer had affixed his seal ; the same expression amongst us bears that we have added our name, whereby the document is shown to be authentic.^b

From the preference of the *seal* over the *signature* arose the custom which, now-a-days, appears to us so extraordinary, of writing letters in the name of an absent person who knew nothing of it. It was sufficient to possess the seal of such person, which friendship confided without difficulty. Cicero presents numerous examples of this kind.^c He frequently adds also in his letters, "This is from my hand,"^d which supposes that his best friend might doubt whether it were. Elsewhere he says to this same friend, "I thought I recognized in your letter the hand of Alexis."^e

^a *Nosce signum*.—Plaut. Bacch. iv. 6, 19 ; iv. 9, 62. The stage personage does not say : "Recognize *the signature*, but the *sign*, or the *seal*."

^b La langue Française, si remarquable par l'étonnante propriété des expressions, a fait le mot *cachet*, qu'elle a tiré de *cacher*, parce que le sceau, parmi nous, est destiné à cacher, et point du tout à authentifier l'écriture. C'était tout le contraire chez les anciens.

^c Tu velim, et Basilio, et quibus præterea videbitur, etiam Ser-vilio conscribas, ut tibi videbitur, meo nomine.—Ad Att. xi. 5 ; xii. 19. Quod litteras quibus putas opus esse curas dandas, facis commodè.—Ibid. xi. 7 ; item xi. 8, 12, &c.

^d Hoc manu meâ (xiii. 28, &c.).

^e In tuis quoque epistolis Alexin videor cognoscere (xvi. 15). (Alexis was the freedman and confidential secretary of Atticus, and Cicero was not less acquainted with his writing than with that of his friend.)

And Brutus, writing from his camp of Vercelli to this same Cicero, says to him: "Read first the despatch sent herewith, which I address to the senate. You will first read, and make therein what changes you shall consider suitable."^a Thus a general engaged in war gives his friend charge to alter or rewrite an official despatch he addressed to his sovereign. This is amusing according to our views; but let us here consider only the material possibility of the thing.

Cicero having opened, without any breach of politeness, a letter of his brother Quintus, in which he thought he discovered fearful secrets, puts it into the hands of his friend, and says to him, "Forward it to its address if you think proper. It is open, but there is no harm; Pomponia, your sister (wife of Quintus), is no doubt in possession of her husband's seal."^b

I have nothing to say as to the morality of this amiable family; the fact is all we have to deal with. There was no question, as we see, of the *character* of the handwriting, nor of the signature; this disgusting robbery, *which did no harm*, was executed without the least difficulty by means of a mere impression.

I say not, however, that every one had not his peculiar *character*; ^c but it was much less determined, much less exclusive than in our times; it came nearer to the style of

^a Ad senatum quas litteras misi velim prius perlegas, et si qua tibi videbuntur commutes.—Brutus Ciceroni, Fam. xi. 19.

^b Quas (litteras) si putabis illi ipsi utile esse reddi, reddes; nil me lædet: nam quod resignatæ sunt, habet, opinor, ejus signum Pomponia.—Ad Att. xi. 9.

^c Signum requirunt aut manum; dices iis me propter custodias eas vitasse.—Ad Att. xi. 2. The *seal* or the *engraved character* was of such importance, that the forger of a false seal was punished by the law Cornelia, on the making of false wills, as if he had counterfeited a signature.—1 Leg. 30, dig. de lege Corn. de fals.

It appears that by this word, false seal (signum adulterinum), must be understood *every seal made for one who had no right to make use of it*, so that an engraver was bound nearly to the same precautions as are imposed on locksmiths of whom some unknown party orders a key. If it is not to be thus understood, I do not

inscriptions, which changes not, and lends itself consequently without difficulty to every kind of falsification.

From the vagueness which prevailed in the current signs, as well as from the want of morality and delicacy in regard to the respect due to writings, arose an immense facility, and consequently an immense temptation, to falsify documents.

And this facility was increased to the highest degree by the very nature of the materials used for writing; for if one wrote on tables done over with wax, it was only *necessary to turn the stylus*,^a to alter, efface, substitute with impunity. If one wrote on skins (*in membranis*), it was still worse, so easy was it to scrape out or efface. What is there better known to antiquaries than those wretched *palimpsestes*, which are still in our day a subject of grief, showing as they do masterpieces of antiquity effaced or destroyed to make room for legends or family tales?

Printing has rendered absolutely impossible, in our age, the falsification of those important acts in which sovereignties and nations are interested; and as to private deeds even, the masterpiece of a forger is limited to a line, and sometimes to a word altered, suppressed, interposed, &c. The most guilty and most skilful hand finds itself paralyzed by the nature of our writing, and particularly so likewise by our admirable paper—remarkable gift of Providence, which joins by an extraordinary alliance duration with fragility, imbibes the thoughts of men, permits them not to be altered without leaving traces of the alteration, and only suffers them to escape as it perishes.

A testament or codicil, or any contract whatever, forged all through, is at this day a phenomenon which an aged magistrate may have never witnessed; among the ancients it was a vulgar crime, as may be seen in merely glancing at the Justinian code, under the head of *forgery*.^b

see very well what a counterfeit seal is. Is it possible to make one without counterfeiting it?

^a Sæpe stylum vertas.—Hor.

^b De lege Corn. de falsis.—Cod. lib. ix. tit. xxii.

From these causes taken together, it follows, that as often as a suspicion of falsehood attaches to any monument of antiquity, in whole or in part, such presumption ought never to be overlooked; but if any violent passion of revenge, or hatred, or national pride, &c. be duly *accused and convicted* of having an interest in the falsification, the suspicion becomes certainty.

If any reader had the curiosity to weigh the doubts raised by some writers with regard to the acts of the Sixth General Council and of the letters of Honorius, he would do well, I conceive, to bear always in mind the reflections I have just committed to paper. For my own part, I have not time to apply to the examination of this superfluous question.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

It is idle to raise the cry of despotism. Are despotism and a mixed monarchy, then, all the same thing? Leaving aside the question of dogma, let us consider the matter only in a political point of view. The Pope in this respect claims no other infallibility than is attributed to all sovereigns. I should like to know what objection the great genius of Bossuet could have suggested to him against the absolute supremacy of the Popes, which minds of the most slender ability could not have at once retorted, and with advantage too, against Louis XIV.

“No pretext, no cause whatsoever, can authorize rebellion; we must revere the appointment of heaven, and the character of the Most High, in all princes, whoever they may be; since the most glorious days of the Church represent them to us as sacred and inviolable, even in the persons of those who persecuted religion. . . . In those cruel persecutions which she suffers without murmuring during so many ages, combating for Jesus Christ,

I dare to say it, she does battle no less for the authority of the princes by whom she is persecuted. . . . *Is it not fighting for legitimate authority to suffer everything at its hands without a murmur ?* ” *

Bravo ! The last stroke particularly is admirable. But why should the great man refuse to transfer to the divine monarchy those same maxims which he declared to be sacred and inviolable in the temporal monarchy ? If any one had desired to assign limits to the power of the king of France, had cited against him certain ancient laws, had declared that men were, indeed, willing to obey him, but required that he should govern according to the laws,—how loudly would not the author (Bossuet) of “*La Politique sacrée*” have exclaimed against such doctrine !

“The prince,” says he, “is not bound to account to any one for what he commands. Without this absolute authority, he can neither do good nor prevent evil ; his power must be such, that none can hope to escape from him. . . . When the prince has judged, there is no further judgment ; this is what made Ecclesiasticus say : ‘*Judge not in opposition to the judge,*’ and still more so, *in opposition* to the sovereign judge, who is the king ; and the reason he adduces is, ‘because he judges according to justice.’ Not that he always so judges, but that he is reputed so to judge, and that no one has a right to judge or to revise after him. We must therefore obey princes as justice itself, without which there is neither order nor end to their affairs. . . . The prince can set himself right when he knows that he has done wrong ;

* Sermon sur l’unité, I^{er} point.—Plato and Cicero, both writing under a republican government, advance as an incontestable maxim, “*that if we cannot persuade the people, we have no right to force them.*” The maxim is the same in all governments ; we have only to change the names. *Tantum contende in monarchiâ quantum principi tuo præbere potes. Quùm persuaderi princeps nequit, cogi fas esse non arbitrator.*”—Cicer. ad Fam. i. 9. “When the prince cannot be persuaded, I do not think it lawful to coerce him.”

but, against his authority, there can be no other remedy than his authority.”^a

At present I contest nothing with the illustrious author ; I only ask him to judge according to the laws which he himself has laid down. It does not by any means show want of respect to fight him with his own weapons.

The obligation imposed on the Sovereign Pontiff to judge only according to the canons, if laid down as a condition of obedience, is a puerility, alleged solely to amuse the puerile or calm the rebellious. As there can be no judgments without a judge, if the Pope can be judged, who shall be his judge? Who will tell us *that he has judged according to the canons, and who will force him to follow them?* The discontented Church apparently, or her civil tribunals, or her temporal sovereign? Behold us, then, at once plunged into anarchy, confusion of powers, and absurdities of every kind.

The excellent author of the “History of Fenelon” informs me, in the panegyric of Bossuet, and according to the views of that great man, *that, conformably to Gallican maxims, a judgment of the Pope in matter of faith can only be published in France after being solemnly accepted, in a formal and canonical manner, and with full freedom, by the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom.*^b

Always some enigma! Is a dogmatical bull, not published in France, without authority in France? And could a proposition, declared heretical by a dogmatical decision of the Pope, confirmed by the consent of the whole Church, be maintained with a sound conscience? Are the French bishops entitled to reject the decision, if they resolve on not approving it? By what right can the Church of France—which, it cannot be too often repeated, is nothing else than a province of the Catholic monarchy—have, *in matter of faith*, other maxims and other privileges than the rest of the Churches?

^a Polit. tirée de l’Ecriture, in 4to. Paris, 1809, pp. 118, 120.

^b Hist. de Bossuet, tom. iii. liv. x. No. 31, p. 340. Paris, 1815, 4 vols. in 8vo. The words in italics are Bossuet’s.

It was worth while to clear up these questions ; and, in such cases, it is a duty to be candid. There is question of the dogmas, of the essential constitution of the Church, and we hear pronounced in an oracular tone (I allude to Bossuet) maxims evidently calculated to throw a veil over difficulties, to disturb delicate consciences, to embolden the ill-intentioned. Fenelon was more distinct when he said, in his own cause : “ The Sovereign Pontiff has spoken ; all discussion is forbidden the bishops ; they ought purely and simply to accept the decree.”^a

Such is the language of Catholic reason, the unanimous voice of all our sincere and unbiassed theologians. But when one of the greatest men that ever flourished in the Church proclaims this fundamental maxim, on an occasion so terrible to human pride, and when he had such ample means of defence, is one of the most magnificent and most encouraging spectacles which intrepid wisdom ever presented to weak human nature.

Fenelon perceived that he could not resist without shaking the great principle of unity ; and his submission refutes better than our reasonings all the sophistry of pride, under what name soever it may be disguised.

We have just seen the centuriators of Magdeburg defending, by anticipation, the Pope against Bossuet. Let us now hear the semi-Protestant compiler of the liberties of the Gallican Church likewise affording us an anticipated refutation of the pretended *maxims* which destroy unity :

“ The particular maxims of each Church,” says he, “ cannot be in force except in the ordinary course of things ; *the Pope is sometimes above* these rules, for the

^a “ The Pope having judged this cause (*Maxims of the Saints*), the bishops of the province, although the natural judges of doctrine, cannot, in the present assembly, and in the circumstances of this particular case, pronounce any other judgment than one of simple adherence to that of the Holy See, and of acceptance of its constitution.”

Fenelon to his provincial assembly of bishops, 1699. In the *Mémoires du Clergé*, tom. i. p. 461.

knowledge and judgment of great causes concerning faith and religion." ^a

Fleury, who may be considered an intermediary personage between Pithou and Bellarmin, holds precisely the same language: "When there is question," says he, "of causing the canons to be observed, and of maintaining the rules, the power of the Popes is sovereign—quite above every other." ^b

Let them now come, and cite to us the *maxims* of a particular Church, on occasion of a sovereign decision pronounced *on a matter of faith!* It were a mockery of common sense.

The idea is ludicrous, that, whilst the bishops should arrogate to themselves the right of examining *freely* a decision of Rome, the magistrates should on their side maintain the necessity of a preliminary registration (*ouïs les gens du roi*), so that the Sovereign Pontiff would be judged, not only by his inferiors, whose decisions he has a right to set aside, but also by lay authority, to which it would belong to hold the faith of Christians in suspense as long as it might think proper.

I shall conclude this portion of my observations by a new citation from a French theologian; the passage is replete with wisdom, which must strike every mind:

"It is only," says he, "an apparent contradiction to say that the Pope is above the canons, or that he is subject to them; that he is the master of the canons, or that he is not. Those who, placing him above the canons, make him master of them, pretend only *that he can dispense with them*; and those who deny that he is above the canons, or that he is master of them, mean only to say that he can only dispense with them for the utility and the necessities of the Church." ^c

^a Pierre Pithou, XLVI^e art. de sa rédaction. This writer was a Protestant, and was not converted till after the affair of St. Bartholomew's day.

^b Fleury, Disc. sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane. Nouv. opusc. p. 34.

^c Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. v. p. 295. Elsewhere,

I know not what good sense could add to, or take away from, this doctrine—equally opposed to despotism and to anarchy.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF INFALLIBILITY IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.

ALL the reflections I have penned hitherto I intend should be addressed to those systematic Catholics of whom there are so many at the present time, and I cherish the hope that they will produce, sooner or later, an invincible opinion. I now address myself to the multitude—still too numerous, alas!—of enemies and indifferent people, particularly to those of their number who are statesmen, and I say to them, “What do you aim at, and what are your pretensions? Do you mean that the people everywhere should live without religion, and do you not begin to understand that it is necessary? Does not Christianity, both on account of its intrinsic worth, and because it is in possession, appear to you preferable to every other? Have you been satisfied with the attempts made in this way, and do the Twelve Apostles please you less, perchance, than the Theophilanthropists or the Martinists? *Does the Sermon on the Mount* appear to you a passable code of morality? And if the entire people came to regulate its morals on this model, would you be content? I think I hear you answer in the affirmative. Well, since there is only question of maintaining this religion which you prefer, how would you be, I say not so unskilful, but so cruel, as to make it a democracy, and intrust this precious deposit to the hands of the multitude? You attribute the greatest importance to the dogmatical part of religion; by what strange contradiction would you, then, agitate the world, for a mere

he adds, with the like wisdom: “Nothing is more conformable to the canons than the violation of the canons, caused by a greater good than the observation of the canons” (liv. ii. ch. 58, No. 6). He could not have thought or spoken more to the purpose.

college trifle, for pitiful disputes (I use your own language) about words? Is it thus that men are led? Will you summon together the Bishops of Quebec and Luçon to interpret a line of the catechism? That believers should dispute about infallibility is a thing I know, because I behold it, but that a statesman should likewise dispute about this great privilege, I never can understand. How, if he thinks that there is opinion, should he not endeavour to fix it? How should he not choose the most ready means of preventing it from going astray? That all the bishops of the universe should be convoked to decide upon a truth which is divine and necessary to salvation, is most natural, if such a measure be indispensable; for no effort, no trouble, no difficulty, ought to be spared in the attainment of so great an end; but, if there is question only of establishing one opinion in place of another, the mere postage charges on account of *one alone infallible*, are a signal folly. In order to save the two most precious things in the world—time and money,—make haste to write to Rome, to bring from it a *legal* decision, which shall declare doubt *illegal*. This is all you want; policy requires no more.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

NO DANGER IN THE CONSEQUENCES OF A RECOGNIZED SUPREMACY.

READ the books of Protestants: you will there find infallibility represented as a fearful despotism which enthralled the human mind, which crushes it, deprives it of its faculties, which commands it to believe, and forbids it to think. The prejudice against this idle scarecrow has been carried to such a height, that we find Locke seriously maintaining that Catholics believe in the real presence on the faith of the Pope's infallibility.*

*“Let the idea of infallibility, and that of a certain person, come to be inseparably united in the minds of some men, and you will

France has, in no slight degree, increased the evil by becoming in a great measure an accomplice in these extravagances. Germany has also lent the aid of its exaggerations. In short, there has been formed beyond the Alps, in regard to Rome, an opinion so strong, although exceedingly erroneous, that it is no easy enterprise to bring men to understand merely what there is question of. This formidable jurisdiction of the Pope over the mind is confined within the limits of the Apostles' Creed; the circle, as every one knows, is not immense, and the human mind has quite enough whereon to exercise itself beyond this sacred perimeter.

As to discipline, it is either general or local. The first is not very extensive; for there are few points absolutely general and which may not be altered, without any danger to what is essential in religion. The second depends on particular circumstances, on localities, privileges, &c. But it is matter of notoriety, that on both the former and the latter points, the Holy See has always given proof of the greatest condescension towards all the churches; frequently even, and almost always, it has gone beyond their wants and their desires. What interest could the Pope have to give needless vexation to the nations united in his communion?

There is, moreover, in the genius of the people of the West, an indescribably exquisite sense,—a delicate and unerring tact,—which proceeds at once to the essence of things, neglecting everything else. This is seen chiefly in the religious forms or rites, in regard to which the Roman Church has always shown all imaginable condescension. It has pleased God, for instance, to attach the work of human re-

soon behold them SWALLOWING the dogma of the simultaneous presence of the same body in two different places, without other authority than that of the infallible person who commands them to believe WITHOUT EXAMINATION."—Locke on the Human Understanding, book ii. chap. xxxiii. sec. xvii. French readers ought to be apprized that this passage is only to be found in the English text. Coste, although a Protestant, considering the observation too silly, refused to translate it.

generation to the sensible sign of water, for reasons by no means arbitrary, but, on the contrary, very profound, and altogether worth being inquired into. We profess this dogma in common with all Christians, but we consider that there is water in a cruet as well as in the Pacific Ocean, and that everything depends on the mutual contact of water and man, accompanied by certain sacramental words. Other Christians pretend *that for this rite a basin at least is indispensable ; that if a man goes into the water he is certainly baptized, but that if water falls upon man, the result becomes doubtful.* On this head may be said to them what an Egyptian priest addressed to them two thousand years ago, *You are but children!* After all, they are masters of their choice ; nobody interferes with them. If they desired a river even, like the English Baptists, they would be allowed the privilege. One of the principal mysteries of the Christian religion has *bread* for its essential matter. Now a *wafer* is bread, as well as the most bulky loaf that ever was baked ; we have, therefore, adopted the *wafer*. Do other Christian nations believe that there is no other bread properly so called than that which we eat at table, nor any real *manducation* without *mastication* ? We respect exceedingly this oriental reasoning, and quite sure that those who employ it to-day will gladly do as we do, as soon as they have attained the same degree of certainty. It does not even occur to us to disturb them. Whilst we are satisfied to retain for ourselves the light unleavened bread, which has in its favour the analogy of the ancient Pasch, that of the first Christian Pasch, and the propriety, greater perhaps than is supposed, of devoting a particular kind of bread to the celebration of such a mystery.

Do these same sticklers for immersion and leavened bread, by erroneous interpretation of the scriptures, and from obvious ignorance of human nature, maintain that the sacred tie of marriage is dissolved by its profanation, which is in fact a formal exhortation to guilt. We have not chosen to have any cavilling with our adversaries, even

whilst they obstinately persist; and on the most solemn occasion we simply said to them, "We shall pass you over in silence; but in the name of reason and peace say not that we understand nothing of the matter."^a

After these instances, and so many others that might be adduced, what nation can fear for its particular privileges on account of the Roman supremacy? The Pope will never refuse to listen to all, nor will he deny satisfaction to the rulers of the world in anything that is in a Christian sense possible. There is no pedantry at Rome; and if there were anything to fear as regards condescension, I should be inclined to dread excess rather than deficiency.

Notwithstanding these assurances, derived from considerations that are quite decisive, I doubt not but prejudice will still hold out; I make no doubt even but very shrewd minds will exclaim, "But if nothing checks the Pope, where will he stop? History shows us how he can use this power; what guarantee is given us that the same events will not be reproduced?"

To this objection, which will undoubtedly be made, I answer first, in general, that the examples taken from history against the Popes are of no value, and ought not to inspire the least dread for the future, because they belong to quite another order of things from that with which we are conversant. The power of the Popes was excessive in regard to us when it was necessary that it should be so, and that nothing in the world could supply its place. This I hope to prove in the course of this work, in a way that must satisfy every impartial judge.

In the next place, dividing in idea those men who honestly fear the enterprises of the Popes into two classes, that consisting of Catholics, and that composed of all those who are not Catholics, I say to the first, "By what blindness, by what ignorant and culpable mistrust, do you look upon the Church as a human edifice, of which it may be

^a Si quis dixerit Ecclesiam errare cùm docuit et docet.—Concil. Trident. sess. xxiv. De Matrimonio, can. vii.

said, *Who will sustain it?* and its chief as an ordinary man, of whom it can be said, *Who will preserve him?*" This is a distraction common indeed, yet by no means excusable. Never will any inordinate pretension be entertained by the Holy See; never will injustice and error be able to take root there, and abuse the faith of mankind to the profit of ambition.

As to those who by birth or by system are without the Catholic circle, if they address to me the same question, *What can check the Pope?* I will answer, EVERYTHING—the canons, the laws, the customs of nations, sovereignties, the great tribunals, national assemblies, prescription, representations, negotiations, duty, fear, prudence, and, above all, opinion, *which rules the world.*

Thus let me not be made to say that I would, THEREFORE, *make the Pope an universal monarch.* Assuredly I desire nothing of the kind, whilst I am nowise astonished to hear this THEREFORE always a ready argument when all others are wanting. But as the very serious faults certain princes have been guilty of against religion and its chief by no means derogate from the respect I owe to temporal monarchy, the possible offences of a Pope against this same sovereignty will not hinder me from acknowledging it for what it is. All the powers of the universe set limits to one another by their mutual resistance. It has not been the will of God to establish greater perfection on the earth, although in one way he has given marks sufficiently distinct to make his hand be recognized. There is not in the world any one power in a position to bear all possible and arbitrary suppositions; and, if they are judged by what they can do (without allusion to what they have done), they must all be abolished.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT : FURTHER EXPLANATIONS IN REGARD TO INFALLIBILITY.

How liable are not men to blind themselves as regards the most simple ideas ! The essential thing for every nation is, to preserve its particular discipline, that is to say, those usages which, without being connected with dogma, constitute, nevertheless, a portion of its public law, and have been for a long time amalgamated with the character and the laws of the nation, so that they cannot be touched without causing disturbance and serious discontent. Now, those usages and those particular laws it may defend with respectful firmness if ever (and this is merely a supposition, for the sake of argument,) the Holy See undertook to derogate from them, all being agreed that the Pope, and even the Church together with him, may be deceived in regard to everything that is not dogma or fact connected therewith ; so that, on everything in which are interested patriotism, affections, customs, and, to say all in one word, national pride, no nation ought to dread the Pope's infallibility, which is applicable only to objects of a higher order.

As to dogma, properly so called, it is precisely on this point that we have no interest to call in question the infallibility of the Pope. Should there occur one of those questions of divine metaphysics which must necessarily be referred to the decision of the supreme tribunal, it concerns not our interests that it be decided in such or such a way, but that a decision be pronounced without delay and without appeal. In the celebrated affair of Fenelon,—of twenty examiners at Rome, ten were for him and ten against him. In a general council, five or six hundred bishops might likewise have been divided.

Those who believe that by multiplying deliberative voices doubt is diminished, know little of human nature, and have

never sat in the midst of a deliberative body. The Popes have condemned several heresies in the course of eighteen centuries. When were they contradicted by an œcumenical council? Not one instance can be alleged. Never were their dogmatical bulls opposed, except by those whom they condemned. The Jansenist fails not to call that which struck him down "*the too famous bull, Unigenitus;*" whilst Luther discovered, no doubt, that the bull "*Exurge, Domine,*" was also "*too famous.*" We have been often told *that general councils are useless, since they have never reclaimed any one.* This observation Sarpi has thought proper to place at the head of his History of the Council of Trent. The remark is undoubtedly not to the purpose; for, the principal end of councils is by no means to reclaim innovators, whose invincible obstinacy was never unknown, but to show they were in the wrong, and to tranquillize the minds of the faithful by a solemn dogmatical decision.

The resipiscence of dissentients is a result more than doubtful, which the Church ardently desires, but scarcely hopes for. However, I allow the objection, and I say, "*Since general councils are neither useful to us who believe, nor to innovators who refuse to believe, why convene them?*"

Despotism over thought, with which the Popes are so much reproached, is a mere chimera. Suppose that in our days it be asked in the Church, *Whether there be one or two natures, one or two persons in the Man-God? whether his body be contained in the Eucharist, by transubstantiation or by impanation? &c.,* where is the despotism which says *yes* or *no* on these questions? Would not the council which should decide them *impose a yoke on thought* no less than the Pope? Independence will always complain of the one as well as of the other. All appeals to councils are only inventions of the spirit of revolt, which ceases not to invoke the council against the Pope, with no other view than to laugh at the council also as soon as it shall have spoken as the Pope.*

* "We believe that it is allowed to appeal from the Pope to a future council, notwithstanding the bulls of Pius II. and

Everything recalls us to the great truths already established. No human society can exist without government, nor government without sovereignty, nor sovereignty without infallibility; and this last privilege is so absolutely necessary, that we are obliged to suppose infallibility, even in temporal sovereignties (where it is not), on pain of beholding society dissolved. The Church requires nothing more than other sovereignties, although it possesses an immense superiority over them, inasmuch as infallibility is on the one hand *humanly supposed*, and on the other *divinely promised*. This indispensable supremacy can only be exercised by one organ; to divide it is to destroy it. Even though these truths should be less incontestable than they are, it would always be indisputable that every dogmatical decision of the Holy Father ought to be law until the Church make opposition to it. When this phenomenon occurs, we shall see what must be done; meanwhile, there is no other course for us than to abide by the judgment of Rome. This necessity is invincible, because it arises from the nature of things and the very essence of sovereignty. The Gallican Church has presented more than one precious example in this respect. Induced, sometimes by false theories and by certain local circumstances, to assume an attitude of apparent opposition to the Holy See, it was speedily brought back by the force of things to the ancient

Julius II., who have forbidden it; but such appeals ought to be very rare, and only for the most weighty reasons."—Fleury, *Nouv. opusc.* p. 52.

In the first place, here is a "*we*," of which the Catholic Church ought to make very little account; and besides, what is a *most weighty* occasion? what tribunal will decide upon it? and, in the meantime, what will it be our duty to do or to believe? Councils ought to be established *as a regular ordinary tribunal above the Pope*, in opposition to what Fleury himself says in the very same page. It is, indeed, a very strange thing to see Fleury refuted by Mosheim on a point of such importance (sup. p. 7), as we have beheld a Bossuet on the point of being led into the right way by the *Centurionators of Magdeburg*. (Sup. p. 81.) To what lengths are not men carried by the ambition to say *we*—that pronoun so portentous in theology!

ways. But lately, even, some of its chiefs, whose names, whose doctrine, whose noble sufferings I infinitely respect, made Europe resound with their complaints against the pilot whom they accused of having manœuvred in a gale, without taking counsel of them. For a moment they may have alarmed the timid Christian,

Res est solliciti plena timoris amor ;

but when at last a decisive resolution was adopted, the immortal spirit of that great Church, surviving, as is the order of things, the dissolution of the body, soared above the heads of those illustrious malcontents, and all ended by silence and submission !

CHAPTER XX.

OBSERVATIONS ON DISCIPLINE CONCLUDED : DIGRESSION ON THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

I HAVE said that from this Pontifical supremacy, portrayed as it is in such false colours, no Catholic nation had anything to fear for its particular and legitimate usages. But, if the Popes owe paternal condescension to those usages which are impressed with the seal of a venerable antiquity, the nations, on the other hand, ought to remember that local differences are almost always more or less bad as often as they are not absolutely necessary, and for this reason, that they arise from isolation and the indulging of individual notions—two things intolerable in the Catholic economy. As the gait, the gestures, the language, and even the dress of a sensible man proclaim his character, so also must the never-changing character of the Catholic Church become manifest by her outward appearance. But who shall impart to it this character of stability if it obey not a sovereign chief, and if each church may follow its particular fancies ? Is it not to the peculiar influence of a supreme chief that the Church owes this *unique* character,

which strikes the least clear-sighted beholders? And is it not indebted to him especially for that Catholic language—the same for all who hold a common belief? It occurs to me that, in his book “On the Importance of Religious Opinions,” M. Necker said, “that it is at last time to inquire of the Roman Church why she persists in making use of an unknown tongue,” &c. It is at last time, on the contrary, to speak to her no more on this subject, or to speak of it only in order to recognize therein and extol her profound wisdom. What a sublime idea is not that of an universal language for the universal Church! From pole to pole the Catholic who enters a church of his rite is at home, and nothing appears to him strange. The moment he arrives, he hears what he has been accustomed to hear all his life; he can mingle his voice with that of his brethren. He understands them; he is understood by them; he can exclaim—

“Rome is all in all places, she is all where I am.”

The brotherhood resulting from a common tongue is a mysterious bond, the strength of which is immense. In the ninth century, John VIII., a too facile pontiff, had granted to the Slavonian people leave to celebrate the Divine office in their own language; at which, no doubt, those will be astonished who have read the 195th Letter of this pontiff, in which he acknowledges the inconveniences of such toleration. Gregory VII. withdrew this permission; but it was too late as regarded the Russians, and it is well known what it cost this great people. If the Latin tongue had once taken its place at Kief, Novogorod, at Moscow, it never would have been dethroned—never would the illustrious Slavonians, intimately allied to Rome by their language, have been thrown into the arms of those degraded Greeks of the low country empire, whose history excites pity when it does not inspire horror.

There is nothing equal in dignity to the Latin tongue. It was spoken by the *sovereign people* (“*populum latè regem*”), who stamped it with that character of grandeur which

stands alone in the history of human language, and which even the most perfect tongues have never been able to appropriate. The term *majesty* belongs to the Latins. Greece possesses it not. And because of *majesty* alone did it remain inferior to Rome in letters as well as in arms.^a Born to command, this language still commands in the books of those who spoke it. It is the language of the Roman conquerors, and that of the missionaries of the Roman Church. Those men differ only by the object and the result of their action. The aim of the former was no other than to enslave, subdue, and devastate the world; the latter came to enlighten, to restore, to save mankind; but in either case there was question of victory and conquest, and on the one hand and on the other the same power extending its dominion:—

. . . Ultra Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium

Trajan, who directed the expiring efforts of the Pagan power of Rome, was unable, nevertheless, to carry his language beyond the Euphrates. The Roman Pontiff has made it to be heard in the Indies, in China, and Japan.

It is the language of civilization. Mingled with that of our barbarian forefathers, it succeeded in refining, softening, and (so to speak) *spiritualizing* those uncouth idioms which have become what we now behold them. Armed with this language, the envoys of the Roman Pontiff went in search of those people who no longer came to them. The latter first heard it spoken the day of their baptism, and they have never since forgotten it. Cast a glance at a map of the world, trace thereon the line where *this universal language is no longer heard*: that line is the boundary of European civilization and fraternity. Beyond, you will

^a Fatale id Græciæ videtur, et cùm MAJESTATIS ignoraret nomen, sola hâc quemadmodum in castris, ita in poesi cæderetur. Quod quid sit, ac quanti, nec intelligunt qui alia non pauca sciunt, nec ignorant qui Græcorum scripta cum judicio legerunt. —Dan. Heinsii Ded. ad filium, at the head of the Elzevir Virgil, in 16mo. 1636.

find only the ties of human relationship, which fortunately exists everywhere. The Latin language is the mark of Europe. Medals, coins, trophies, tombs, primitive annals, laws, canons—all monuments speak Latin. Must all these, then, be effaced, or no longer understood? Last century, which vented its rage against everything sacred or venerable, failed not to declare war on Latin. The French, arbiters of fashion, almost entirely forgot this language; they even forgot themselves so far, as to make it disappear from their coin; and they seem not yet to have thought of this transgression committed at once against the common sense of Europe, good taste, and religion. The English, even, although wisely attached to their usages, begin also to imitate France; such imitation, if I am not mistaken, occurs among them oftener than is believed, and more frequently than they themselves believe. Examine the pedestals of their modern statues: you will there find, no more, the severe taste which engraved the epitaphs of Newton and of Christopher Wren. Instead of that noble Laconism, you will read histories in the vulgar tongue. The monumental marble doomed to babble, weeps over the lost language of which it held that beautiful style, which had a name among all other styles, and which, from the stone where it was established, went to plant itself in the memories of all men.

After having been the instrument of civilization, there was wanting to the Latin tongue only one species of glory, and that it acquired by becoming, in due time, the language of science. Men of creative genius adopted it as the medium for communicating to the world their great thoughts. Copernicus, Kepler, Descartes, Newton, and a hundred others of high note, although not equally renowned, wrote in Latin. An innumerable multitude of historians, theologians, writers on law, medicine, antiquities, &c. inundated Europe with Latin works of every description. Charming poets, and literary men of the first order, restored to the language of Rome its ancient forms, and carried it to a degree of perfection which ceases not

to astonish all who compare modern writers to their early models. All other languages, although still cultivated and understood, are, nevertheless, silent in the monuments of antiquity, and will most probably for ever remain so.

Alone, of all ancient tongues, that of Rome is truly risen again ; and, like to him whom it has not ceased to celebrate for two thousand years, "once risen, it will die no more." (Rom. vi. 9.)

Opposed to these brilliant privileges, of what consequence is the vulgar and oft-repeated objection, that *it is a language unknown to the people?* Protestants never have done urging this objection, without reflecting that that portion of Divine worship which is common to us with them, is on both sides alike performed in the vulgar tongue. Among them, the principal thing—the soul of worship, as it were—is preaching ; which, by its nature, and in all forms of worship, is done only in the vernacular tongue. With us, *sacrifice* is the real *worship* : everything else is accessory ; and what matters it to the people whether those sacramental words, which are only pronounced in a low tone of voice, be recited in French, in German, or in Hebrew ?

They adduce, moreover, the same sophism in regard to the Liturgy as in regard to the sacred writings. They cease not talking of an "unknown tongue," as if there were question of the Chinese or Sanscrit languages. Whoever does not understand the Scriptures and the Divine office, has it quite in his power to learn Latin. Speaking of ladies, even, Fenelon remarked that "he would like as well they should be taught Latin, in order to understand the Divine office, as that they should learn Italian for the sake of reading amatory poems."

But prejudice never listens to reason ; and for three centuries back it accuses us of *concealing* the Holy Scriptures and public prayers, whilst we present them in a language known to every man who can claim to be, I do not say *learned*, but *well-informed*, and which the ignorant person, who is tired of his ignorance, can learn in a few months.

Besides, everything has been provided for by translations of all the prayers of the Church. Some of these translations represent the very words, others the sense. They are infinite in number, and they are adapted to all ages, all understandings, and all characters. Certain striking words in the original tongue, and familiar to every ear, certain ceremonies, certain movements, certain noises even, advise the least lettered bystander of what is being done and said. He can always be in perfect harmony with the priest ; if he be distracted, he has himself to blame.

As to that portion of the people who are altogether unlettered, if they understand not the words, so much the better ; reverence gains, and understanding suffers no loss. He who understands not at all, understands better than he who understands imperfectly. How, besides, should he complain of a religion which does everything for him ? Ignorance, poverty, humility it instructs, it consoles, it loves above all besides. And to science, why should it not say, in Latin, the only thing it has to say to it : *that for pride there is no salvation ?*

To conclude : every language that is subject to change, is but little suited to an unchangeable religion. The movement to which all things are liable is constantly making war on living languages ; and, without mentioning those great changes which wholly alter their nature, there are others which, without appearing to be so, are of great importance. The corruption of the world takes possession every day of certain words, and spoils them for its diversion. If the Church spoke our language, it might be in the power of any libertine wit to render the most sacred word of the Liturgy ridiculous or indecent. In every imaginable view of the matter, the language of religion ought to be kept beyond the domain of man.

BOOK II.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATION WITH TEMPORAL
SOVEREIGNTIES.

CHAPTER I.

A FEW WORDS ON SOVEREIGNTY.

MAN, as a being at once moral and corrupt, of right understanding and perverse will, must necessarily be governed; otherwise he would be social and anti-social at the same time, and society would be alike necessary and impossible.

We learn from the tribunals the absolute necessity of sovereignty. Man must be governed, precisely as he must be judged, and for the same reason,—that wherever there is no *sentence* there is *combat*.

On this point, as on many others, man could not imagine anything better than what exists,—a power which guides mankind by general rules, designed, not for such a case or for such a man, but for all cases, for all times, and for all men.

Sovereignty, and consequently society, become possible from the fact that man is at least always just in his intentions as often as he is not personally interested. For the cases in which sovereignty is exposed to do wrong voluntarily, are always, by the nature of things, much more rare than any other cases; just as (to follow the same analogy) the cases in which judges are tempted to prevaricate, are necessarily rare in proportion. If it were otherwise, the administration of justice as well as sovereignty would be impossible.

The most dissolute prince hinders not public crimes from being prosecuted in his tribunals, provided there be not question of matters which concern him personally. But as he is the only one above justice, even though he should unfortunately in his own conduct give the most dangerous examples, the general laws could always be put in force.

Man, then, being necessarily in society, and necessarily governed, his will goes for nothing in the establishing of government; for when the choice lies not with the people, and when sovereignty directly originates in the wants of human nature, sovereigns exist not *by favour of the people*; sovereignty being no more the result of their will than society itself.

It has often been asked, whether the king were made for the people, or the people for the king? This question, it appears to me, supposes very little reflection. The two propositions are false if taken separately, true when taken together. The people are made for the sovereign and the sovereign for the people, and, both the one and the other, in order that there may be a sovereignty.

The mainspring of a watch is not made for the balance, nor the latter for the former, but each of them for the other, and both the one and the other to tell the hour.

No sovereign without nation, as there is no nation without sovereign. The nation owes more to the sovereign than the sovereign to the nation; for the latter is indebted to the former for its social existence, and all the benefits accruing therefrom; whilst the prince owes nothing to sovereignty but empty splendour, which has nothing in common with happiness, and even almost always excludes it.

CHAPTER II.

INCONVENIENCES OF SOVEREIGNTY.

ALTHOUGH sovereignty has no greater or more general interest than that of being just, and although the cases in

which it is tempted to deviate from justice, be incomparably less numerous than those of the opposite description, yet are they, unfortunately, in too great number; and the peculiar character of certain sovereigns may augment those inconveniences to such a degree, that there is scarcely any other means of rendering them at all supportable, than that of comparing them with those which would arise if the sovereign existed not.

It was then impossible that men should not from time to time have made exertions to protect themselves from the excesses of this enormous prerogative; but on the point in question the world is divided between two systems decidedly different.

The daring race of Japhet has not ceased, if the expression may be permitted, *to gravitate* towards what is called *liberty*; that is to say, towards that state in which the governing power governs as little, and the governed are as little governed as possible. Always on his guard against his masters, the European has sometimes expelled them and sometimes opposed to them the barriers of laws. He has tried everything, he has exhausted all imaginable forms of government, in order to dispense with rulers or to restrain their power.

The immense posterity of Sem and Cham have adopted another course. From primitive times till those in which we live, it has always said to one man, "Do whatever you please, and when we are tired of you we shall put you to death."

Besides, it has never been either able or willing to understand what is meant by a republic; it knows nothing about the balance of power, about all those privileges or all those fundamental laws in which we glory so much. Among them the wealthiest of men, he who is most the master of his actions, the possessor of an immense moveable fortune, absolutely free to carry it wherever he pleases, sure, moreover, of complete protection on the soil of Europe, and already beholding the approach of the cord or the poniard, prefers them, nevertheless, to the misfortune of dying of tedium amongst us.

Nobody, doubtless, will take it in his head to prescribe for Europe the public law, brief and clear as it is, of Asia and Africa; but since, among Europeans, power is always clamorous in discussion, attacked or beside itself—since there is nothing so intolerable to our pride as despotic government, the greatest problem Europe has to solve is, “How is sovereign power to be restrained without being destroyed?”

The ready reply is, “Have fundamental laws—a constitution.” But who will establish those fundamental laws—who will put them in execution? The body or the individual who should have this power would be sovereign, since he would be stronger than the sovereign; so that, by the very act of establishing the constitution, he would dethrone the sovereign. If the constitutional law be a concession by the sovereign, the question is reopened. Who will prevent any of his successors from violating it? The right of resistance must be attributed to a body or an individual; otherwise it can only be exercised by rebellion—that terrible remedy, worse than every evil.

Besides, we do not find that the numerous attempts made to restrain sovereign power have ever succeeded in a way calculated to inspire the wish to imitate them. England alone, favoured by the surrounding ocean, and by a national character which lends itself to such experiments, has been able to effect something in this way; but its constitution has not yet been proved by time; and already, even, this famous edifice, which displays on its pediment MDCLXXXVIII, appears to shake on its yet humid foundations.* The civil and criminal law of England is not superior to that of other nations. The right of self-taxation, purchased by seas of

* With all gratitude to the illustrious Sardinian for his friendly warning, it must be observed that the British constitution dates from a somewhat remoter period than the accession of William the Dutchman. The modification of it which then took place has been itself modified, and is still undergoing modification; which shows the elasticity, but by no means proves the instability of the constitution. The national character may partly account for this, it is true; but why not allow to every people the government suited to its national character?

blood, has only procured for it the privilege of being the most highly taxed nation in the world. A certain soldier-like spirit, which is the gangrene of liberty, visibly threatens the British constitution; other symptoms I gladly pass over in silence. What will happen I know not; but, although everything should fall out as happily as I desire, an isolated example in history would prove little in favour of constitutional monarchies, and the more so, as universal experience is opposed to this solitary instance.

A great and powerful nation, not long ago, made the greatest exertion that ever was made in the world to gain liberty; but how did it succeed? It loaded itself with ridicule and shame, only to place at last on the throne a small *b* instead of a large *B*, and to introduce among the people servitude instead of obedience. It fell afterwards into the deepest humiliation, and having escaped political annihilation only by a miracle it had no right to expect,^a it amuses itself under the yoke of strangers in reading its charter, which is creditable only to its king, and as to which time has not yet been able to give its explanation.

The Catholic dogma, as all the world knows, proscribes, without distinction, every kind of rebellion; and in defence of this dogma our doctors adduce sufficiently good arguments, even on philosophical and political grounds.

Protestantism, on the contrary, starting from the doctrine which recognizes the sovereignty of the people, and which it has transferred from religion to politics, sees only in the system of *non-resistance* the worst degradation of man. Doctor Beattie may be quoted as a representative of all his party. He calls the Catholic teaching of *non-resistance*, a *detestable doctrine*. He advances that man, when there is question of resisting sovereignty, ought to take his resolution *according to those instinctive sentiments of morality whereof men are conscious, erroneously ascribing them to blood and spirits, or to education and habit.*^b He reproaches his celebrated fellow-countryman, Dr. Berkeley,

^a The reader must be reminded that this was written in 1817.

^b Beattie on Truth, part ii. chap. xii. p. 408. London ed. 8vo. Pride was never more distinctly expressed.

with having denied this interior power, and with having believed that *man, as a rational being, ought to be guided by the dictates of sober and impartial reason.*^a

I much admire those fine maxims, but they are wanting in this, that they afford no light to the mind, to enable it to decide on difficult occasions, where theories are absolutely useless. When man has come to the conclusion (and for the sake of argument I grant he may) that he is entitled to resist sovereign power, and confine it within due bounds, nothing has yet been done; for it remains to be discovered, *when, in what circumstances,* this right may be exercised, and who are the men entitled to exercise it.

The most zealous sticklers for the right of resistance are agreed (and who could doubt it?) that it can only be justified by tyranny. But what is tyranny? Can a single act, if atrocious, be so designated? If there must be more than one, how many are required, and of what description must they be? What power in the state is entitled to decide *that a case for resistance has occurred?* If such a tribunal pre-exists, it is already a portion of the sovereignty, and by acting on the other portion it destroys it. If it does not pre-exist, by what tribunal shall this tribunal be established. Can men, besides, exercise a right, although just and incontestable, without weighing the disadvantages which may result from its exercise? History with one voice informs us that revolutions commenced by the wisest of men are always ended by fools; that the authors of them are always their victims, whilst the efforts of the people to create or increase liberty, always terminate by enslaving them. Unfathomable gulfs present themselves on every side.

But it will be said, would you then unmuzzle the tiger, and reduce men to passive obedience? Well, behold what the king will do! "He will take your children to drive his chariots, he will make them his grooms, and will cause

^a Beattie, *ibid.* Blasphemous assertion, to be sure! Here is clearly perceptible *that warmth of blood* which pride calls *moral instinct*, &c.

them to march before his car. He will make of them officers and soldiers ; some he will take to cultivate his fields and gather in his grain, and others to fabricate armour. He will make your daughters provide him perfumes, cook for him, and bake bread ; he will appropriate to himself and his family whatever is best in your fields, your vineyards, and your orchards ; he will cause the tithes of your corn and your vines to be paid to him, in order to remunerate his eunuchs and his domestics. He will take your serving men and your serving women, your strongest young men and your beasts of burthen, to make them toil together for his profit ; he will appropriate also the tithes of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves." *

I never pretended that absolute power, in whatever form it may exist, is not attended by great inconveniences ; on the contrary, I distinctly acknowledge the fact, and I dream not of extenuating its evils ; I only say that we are placed between two abysses.

CHAPTER III.

IDEAS OF ANTIQUITY ON THE GREAT PROBLEM.

It is not in the power of man to create a law which shall not require any exception whatsoever. This impossibility results alike from the weakness of men, who cannot foresee everything, and from the very nature of things, some of which vary to such a degree, as to go, quite of their own impulse, beyond the circle of the law ; whilst others, arranged by imperceptible gradations under common descriptions, cannot be expressed by a general name which is not false in some of its bearings.

Hence arises in all legislation the necessity of a dispensing power ; for wherever there is not dispensation, violation must ensue.

But every violation of the law is dangerous or fatal to

* 1 Kings, viii. 11—17.

it; whilst, on the other hand, every dispensation fortifies it. For none can ask to be dispensed from the law without doing it homage, and without acknowledging that no man, of himself, has power against it.

The law which prescribes obedience to sovereigns is, like every other, a general law; it is good, just, and necessary *in general*; but, if Nero be on the throne, it may *appear* faulty.

Why, then, should there not be in such cases dispensation from the general law, founded on circumstances altogether unforeseen?

Is it not better to act with full knowledge of the case, and in the name of authority, than to rush upon the tyrant with a blind impetuosity, which carries with it all the symptoms of crime?

But to whom apply for this dispensation? Sovereignty being for us essentially sacred, an emanation of Divine power, which nations in every age have always placed under the guardianship of religion, but which Christianity, above all, has taken under its particular protection, in enjoining us to behold in the sovereign a representative and an image of God himself;—it was not absurd to think that, in order to be released from the oath of allegiance, there was no other competent authority than that of the high spiritual power which stands alone in the world, and whose sublime prerogatives constitute a portion of Divine revelation.

As the oath of allegiance without restriction exposed men to all the horrors of tyranny, and as resistance without rule led the way to all the evils of anarchy, the dispensation from this oath pronounced by the spiritual sovereignty very naturally presented itself to the human mind as the only means of restraining temporal authority without obliterating its character.

It would, besides, be a mistake to suppose that dispensation from the oath would be, in this hypothesis, in contradiction with the divine origin of sovereignty. Such contradiction would all the less exist, that the dispensing power being supposed eminently divine, nothing would, in

certain respects and under certain circumstances, prevent another power from being subordinate to it.

The forms of sovereignty, moreover, are not everywhere the same; they are fixed by fundamental laws, the real bases of which are never written. Pascal has admirably remarked, "that he would have equal horror in destroying liberty where God has planted it, as in introducing it where it exists not." For there is not question here of monarchy, but of sovereignty—quite a different thing.

This observation is essential to extricate us from the sophism which so naturally occurs. Here or there *sovereignty is limited*, therefore it proceeds from the people.

In the first place, if we would express ourselves with precision, there is no limited sovereignty—all are absolute and infallible, since nowhere is it permitted to say that they have erred. When I say *that no sovereignty is limited*, I speak of it as regards *its legitimate exercise*, and this must be carefully attended to. For it may be said with equal truth, under two different points of view, that *every sovereignty is limited*, and *that no sovereignty is limited*—limited, inasmuch as no sovereignty can do everything; not so, inasmuch as, in its legitimate circle, traced by the fundamental laws of each country, it is always and everywhere absolute, insomuch that no person is entitled to say to it that it is unjust or mistaken. Its legitimacy consists not, therefore, in conducting itself in such or such a way within its sphere, but in not stepping beyond that sphere.

Sufficient attention is not always bestowed on this distinction. It will be said, for instance, in England *the sovereignty is limited*; there is no greater mistake. It is *royalty* that is limited in that celebrated state. Now, royalty is not the whole sovereignty, at least in theory. But, when the three powers which, in England, constitute sovereignty, are agreed, what can they do? We must reply with Blackstone—EVERYTHING. And what can be legally done against them? NOTHING.

Thus the question of Divine origin can be discussed at London as well as at Madrid or elsewhere; and everywhere

it offers the same problem, although the forms of sovereignty vary according to country. In the next place, to maintain forms according to the fundamental laws alters not either the essence or the rights of sovereignty. Would those judges of the supreme court, who because of intolerable cruelties should deprive a father of the right to bring up his children, be considered as striking down parental authority, and declaring that it is not divine? In containing a power within its proper bounds, the tribunal contests not either its legitimacy, its character, or its legal extent; on the contrary, it solemnly acknowledges them.

The Sovereign Pontiff, likewise, in absolving subjects from their oath of fidelity, would do nothing contrary to Divine right. He would only profess that sovereignty is a divine and sacred authority, which cannot be controlled by any other than an authority which is also divine, but of a superior order, and specially invested with this power in certain extraordinary cases.

It would be a paralogism to reason thus:—God is the author of sovereignty, therefore *it cannot be controlled*. This I admit, provided God has created and maintains it beyond control, but if otherwise, I deny it. God is master, no doubt, to create a sovereignty, restricted in its very principle, or afterwards, by a power he would have established at the time marked by his decrees, and under this form it would be divine.

France, before the revolution, had fundamental laws, which, as they were fundamental, the king could not touch. Nevertheless, all French theology justly rejected the system of the sovereignty of the people as an antichristian dogma; such or such restriction, therefore, devised by men, has nothing in common with divine origin; for it would be strange indeed if this sublime prerogative should belong only to despotism.

And by a far more obvious and still more decisive consequence, a divine power, solemnly and directly established by the Divinity, although it could modify, would not alter the essence of any divine work.

These ideas fluctuated in the minds of our forefathers, but they were not in a position to account to themselves for the theory, and to reduce it to a systematic form. They only entertained, vaguely, the notion that temporal sovereignty could be controlled by that high spiritual power which possessed the right, in certain cases, to recall the oath of the subject.

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

I AM not at all obliged to reply to the objections which might be started against the ideas I have just expressed, for I would by no means be understood to preach the *indirect right* of the Popes. I say merely that such ideas are nowise absurd. My argument is *ad hominem*, or to speak more correctly *ad homines*. I take the liberty to say to the age in which I live, that there is manifest contradiction between its enthusiasm for constitutions, and its loud railing against the Popes. I prove to it, and nothing is more easy, that on this important point it knows less, or at least does not know more, than the middle ages.

But, ceasing to lose ourselves in a maze of ideas, let us, in all sincerity, take our side on the great question of passive obedience, or non-resistance. Would men have it laid down as a principle, "that for no imaginable^a reason is it permitted to resist authority; that we must thank God for good principles, and patiently suffer bad ones till time, the great repairer of evils, do justice on them; that there is always more danger in resisting, than in bearing

^a When I say *for no imaginable reason*, I must be clearly understood to exclude the case of a sovereign commanding crime. I would not be far from believing that there are circumstances more numerous, perhaps, than is supposed, in which the word *resistance* is not synonymous with that of *revolt*. But I cannot, and I should not even like to dwell upon details; the more so, as general principles suffice for the object of this work.

them, &c." I accept the principle, and am ready to subscribe to it for all time to come.

But if it come to be absolutely necessary to set legal limits to sovereign power, I would most cordially express my opinion, that the interests of humanity should be confided to the Sovereign Pontiff.

The defenders of the right of resistance have too often exempted themselves from honestly stating the question. And, in fact, the point is by no means to discover *whether*, but *when* and *how* it is permitted to resist. The problem is wholly practical, and, so considered, it makes us tremble. But if the right to resist were changed into the right to hinder, and that instead of residing in the subject, it belonged to a power of another order, there would no longer be the same inconvenience, because this hypothesis admits resistance without revolution, and without any violation of sovereignty.*

This right of opposition, moreover, being vested in one individual, well known and unique, it could be made subject to rules, and exercised with all conceivable prudence, and every imaginable variety of manner; whilst, on the other hand, in the case of internal resistance, it could only be exercised by the subjects, by the multitude,—by the people in a word,—and, consequently, by no other means than insurrection.

This is not all: the *veto* of the Pope might be put in force against all sovereigns, and might be adapted to all constitutions and to all varieties of national character. The word limited monarchy is soon pronounced. In theory, nothing is more easy; but when we come to practice and experience, we find only an example, doubtful from its duration, and which the judgment of Tacitus has already proscribed.^b There are many circumstances, besides, which

* The absolute and never-to-be-recalled deposition of a temporal prince—an infinitely rare case, in the present supposition—would be no more a revolution than the death of that same sovereign.

^b *Delecta ex his et constituta reipublice forma laudari faci-*

permit and even oblige us to consider that form of government a phenomenon altogether local, and perhaps transient.

The pontifical power, on the contrary, is, from its essential constitution, the least subject to the caprices of politics. He who wields it is, moreover, always aged, unmarried, and a priest; all which circumstances exclude ninety-nine hundredths of all the errors and passions which disturb states. And, lastly, as he is at a distance, as his power is of a different nature from that of all temporal sovereigns; and, as he never asks anything for himself, the belief might be legitimately enough entertained, that if all the inconveniences are not removed, which is impossible, there would remain at least as few as can be hoped for, *due allowance being made for the weakness of human nature*. This, in the estimation of every sensible man, is the highest degree of perfection.

It appears, therefore, that in order to contain sovereignties within their legitimate bounds, or, in other words, to prevent them from violating the fundamental laws of the state, among which religion holds the first place, the intervention, more or less powerful, more or less active, of the spiritual supremacy, would be a means at least as plausible as any other.

We might go still further, and maintain, with equal certainty, that this means would also be the most agreeable, or the least unpleasant, to sovereigns. If the prince be free to refuse or to accept restraint, he certainly will not accept it; for, neither power nor liberty has ever said, *enough*. But, supposing that sovereignty had no other alternative than submit to restraint, and that there were question only of choosing, I should not be astonished if it preferred the Pope to a co-legislative senate, a national assembly, &c.; for the sovereign pontiffs require but little of princes. Enormities alone would demand their animadversion.*

liùs quàm evenire, vel si evenerit, haud diuturna esse potest.—
Tacit. Ann. iii. 33.

* If the states-general of France had addressed to Louis XIV.

CHAPTER V.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE POWER EXERCISED
BY THE POPES.

THE Popes have struggled sometimes with sovereigns, never with sovereignty. The very act by which they loosed subjects from their oath of allegiance, declared sovereignty inviolable. The Popes instructed the people that no human power could touch the sovereign, whose authority was only suspended by a power wholly divine; so that their anathemas, far from ever derogating from the strictness of Catholic maxims on the inviolability of sovereigns, had, on the contrary, no other tendency than to give them new sanction in the eyes of the people.

If any individuals considered this distinction between sovereign and sovereignty as too subtle, I would readily sacrifice to them these expressions, with which can I easily dispense. I shall simply say, that the blows struck by the Holy See against a small number of sovereigns, almost all odious, and sometimes, even, intolerable by their crimes, might check or alarm them, without altering in the minds of the people the high and sublime idea of their rulers it was their duty to entertain. The Popes were universally acknowledged as delegates of the Divinity, from whom sovereignty emanates. The greatest princes sought in the sacred rites of coronation the sanction of their right, and, so to speak, its completion. The first of those sovereigns, according to the ideas that formerly prevailed,—the Emperor of Germany,—was accustomed to be crowned by the hands of the Pope himself. He was considered to hold of the Holy

a petition like to that which the Commons of England presented to Edward III. towards the end of the fourteenth century (vid. Hume, Edw. III. 1377, chap. xvi. 4to. p. 332), I am persuaded that his pride would have been much more shocked by it, than by a Bull with the same end in view, given *under the seal of the fisherman*.

Father his august character, and to be truly emperor only by his coronation.

Farther on will be found all the details of this public law, than which none more general, none more incontestably recognized, ever existed. The people who beheld a king excommunicated reflected thus:—*That power must be very high, very sublime, far above all human judgment, since it can only be controlled by the vicar of Jesus Christ.*

In considering this subject, we are liable to a great illusion. Deceived by the clamours of the philosophers, we are accustomed to believe that the Popes spent their time in deposing kings; and, because these facts touch one another in the duodecimo pamphlets we are in the habit of reading, we imagine that they are equally near to one another in point of time. But how many in reality, how many *hereditary* sovereigns, have been deposed by Popes? There have only been threats, negotiations, and transactions as to *elective* princes; they were of man's creation, and could surely be set aside, as they were raised to power, by a human hand; and still the whole number amounts to two or three frenzied princes, who, for the happiness of mankind, met with a check (weak indeed, and very inadequate) in the spiritual power of the Popes. Besides, everything followed its wonted course in the political world. Each king remained tranquil in his own kingdom, undisturbed by the Church; the Popes had no idea of meddling with their administration; and, until it occurred to them to plunder the priesthood, to send away their wives, or to have two at the same time, they had nothing to fear in that quarter.

To this sound theory experience adds the weight of its evidence. What has been the result of those powerful movements about which so much noise has been made? The divine origin of sovereignty—that dogma which tends so strongly to preserve states, was universally established in Europe. It constituted, in a manner, our public law, and prevailed in all our schools till the disastrous schism of the sixteenth century.

Experience, therefore, is perfectly in accordance with the conclusions of reason. The excommunications of the Popes by no means injured sovereignty in the minds of the people; on the contrary, in repressing it on certain points, in rendering it less ferocious and less crushing, in alarming it for its own good, of which it was ignorant, they caused it to be more venerated; they made the ancient mark of brute power to disappear from its brow, and placed there in its stead the character of regeneration; they rendered it holy, and thus it became inviolable; new and striking proof, among a thousand, that the pontifical power has always been eminently conservative. Every man in the world, I believe, may satisfy himself as to this great fact; but it is particularly the duty of every child of the Church to know and acknowledge that the divine spirit which inspires her, *et magno se corpore miscet*, cannot be productive of any evil result, notwithstanding the mixture of that which is human making itself be felt too much and too frequently in the midst of political tempests.

To those who give their attention to particular facts, to accidental faults, to the errors of such or such a man, who dwell on certain phrases, who dissect each line of history for the purpose of considering it separately, only one thing can be said:—"From the point to which we must rise, in order to embrace the whole together, nothing of what you see can be discerned; wherefore there is no means of answering you, unless you be pleased to take this same for an answer."

It may be observed that modern philosophers have followed, in regard to sovereigns, a route diametrically opposed to that which the Popes had traced out. The latter consecrated the character in levelling their blows at the person of the prince; the former, on the contrary, often flattered, servilely enough, too, the person who gives employments and pensions; and they destroyed, as much as was in their power, the character of sovereignty, by rendering it odious or ridiculous, by making it originate with the people, by seeking always to restrain it by the people.

There is so much analogy, so much fraternity, so much dependence between the pontifical power and that of kings; that the former was never shaken without the latter being injured, and that the innovators of our age have never ceased to point out to kings the Christian priesthood as the greatest enemy of royal authority. Incredible contradiction! unheard-of phenomenon! which would be unique, if there were not something still more extraordinary; and this is, that they have succeeded in making themselves be believed both by people and by kings.

The chief of the reformers gave, in a few lines, his profession of faith as regards sovereigns: "Princes," says he, "are commonly the greatest fools and the most arrant knaves on the face of the earth; we can expect nothing good of them; they are in this world nothing else than the butchers of God, of whom he makes use to chastise us." ^a

The freezing influence of scepticism has calmed the fever of the sixteenth century, and language has been polished, together with the manners of men; but the principles remain always the same. The sect which abhors the Sovereign Pontiff will now enunciate its dogmas.

"Que l'univers se taise et l'écoute parler!"

"Let the world be silent and listen!"

"In whatsoever manner the prince is invested with authority, he holds it solely from the people, and the people never depend on any mortal man except in virtue of their own consent." ^b

^a Luther, in his works in folio, tom. ii. p. 182, quoted in the very remarkable and well-known German book, entitled "Der Triumph der Philosophie in Achtzehnten Jahrhunderte," 8vo. tom. i. p. 52. Luther had made for himself a sort of proverb on this subject: "Principem esse, et non esse latronem, vix possibile est;" which means, "To be a prince, and not a robber at the same time, appears to be scarcely possible."—Ibid.

^b Noodt, on the Power of Sovereigns.—Collection of discourses on divers important matters, translated or composed by Jean Barbeyrac, tom. i. p. 41.

“On the people depend the well-being, the security, and the permanency of every legal government. In the people must necessarily reside the essence of all power; and all those whose knowledge or capacity has induced the people to give them—sometimes wisely, and sometimes imprudently—their confidence, are responsible to them for the use they have made of the power that has been confided to them for a time.”^a

At the present hour, it behoves princes to reflect seriously. They have been made to dread that power, which sometimes embarrassed their ancestors a thousand years ago, but which had rendered divine the character of sovereign. They have allowed themselves to be dragged upon the earth, and there no longer belongs to their character anything more than what is of man.^b

CHAPTER VI.

TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES—WARS WHICH THEY HAVE SUSTAINED AS TEMPORAL PRINCES.

It is extremely remarkable, but by no means sufficiently remarked, that the Popes have never made use of the immense power they are possessed of, to aggrandize their own state. What was more natural, for instance, or more tempting to human nature, than to reserve for themselves a portion of the provinces conquered by the Saracens, and which they gave to the first who got possession of them, as an encouragement to repel the Crescent, which was continuing to advance? Nevertheless, they never did so, not even in regard to lands conterminous with their own, like

^a Opinion of Sir William Jones.—Memoirs of the Life of Sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth. London, 1806, 4to. p. 200.

^b These remarks are as strikingly applicable to the present period (1849-50), as to the year (1817) in which they were written.

the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, over which they had incontestable rights, at least according to the ideas of the time ; but with regard to which, notwithstanding, they were satisfied with a vain superiority. This privilege, too, was soon reduced to a light and merely nominal tribute, which the bad taste of the age still disputes with them.

The Popes may possibly have made too much, in bygone times, of that universal superiority which a no less universal opinion freely accorded them. They may have exacted homage and imposed taxes too arbitrarily, perhaps ; it is of no importance to examine here all these different points. But it will always remain true, that they never sought or seized an occasion of extending their states at the expense of justice, whilst no other temporal sovereignty escaped this curse. At the present day, even, with all our philosophy, all our civilization, and all our fine books, there is not, perhaps, an European power in a position to justify all its possessions in the face of God and reason.

I read, in the " Letters on History," that the Popes have *sometimes* availed themselves of *their temporal power* to increase their properties.*

But the term *sometimes* is vague ; that of *temporal power* is so likewise, and that of *property* still more so. I wait, therefore, till it be explained to me *when* and *how* the Popes have employed their spiritual power, or the political means at their command, to extend their states at the expense of a legitimate proprietor.

Until the despoiled proprietor appear, we shall continue to observe, and not without admiration, that among all the Popes who reigned, in the time of their greatest influence, there never was an usurper ; and that at those periods, even, when they made their superiority available over such or such a state, they always made use of it to give away that state, not to retain it.

Even when considered only as sovereigns, the conduct

* The Spirit of History, letter xl. Paris, Nyon, 1803, 8vo. tom. ii. p. 399.

of the Popes is still eminently remarkable. Julius II., for instance, carried on a deadly war against the Venetians ; but it was with a view to regain the towns usurped by the Venetian republic.

This point is one of those to which I shall invite with confidence that general view of history which ought to determine the judgment of sensible men. The Popes have reigned as temporal sovereigns since the ninth century at least ; now, counting from that time, we shall not find in any sovereign dynasty more respect for the territory of other princes, and less ambition to extend its own.

As temporal princes, the Popes equal or surpass in power many of the crowned heads of Europe. Examine the history of the various countries ; there will generally be seen a policy quite different from that of the Popes. Why should not the latter have acted *politically*, as did the former ? Nevertheless, we see not on their part that tendency to aggrandizement which constitutes the distinguishing and general character of every sovereignty.

Julius II., to whom reference has just been made, is the only Pope, if my memory deceives me not, who acquired a territory by the ordinary rules of public law, in virtue of a treaty which put an end to a war. In this way, he caused the duchy of Parma to be ceded to him ; but this acquisition, although not culpable, did violence, nevertheless, to the pontifical character ; it soon afterwards escaped from the authority of the Holy See. To this sovereignty alone belongs the honour of possessing at the present day no more than it possessed ten centuries ago. In connection with it we find neither treaties, nor combats, nor intrigues, nor usurpations. Tracing it to its origin, we come always to a donation. Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis, Lotharius, Henry, Otho, the Countess Matilda, formed this temporal state of the Popes, so precious to Christianity ; but the force of circumstances had commenced it, and this unseen operation is one of the most curious spectacles in history.

There is not in Europe a sovereignty more justifiable, if it may be thus expressed, than that of the sovereign pon-

tiffs. It is like the divine law, *justificata in semetipsâ*. But what can be more truly astonishing than to behold the Popes becoming sovereigns whilst they perceived it not themselves; yea, even whilst, to speak more correctly, they resisted this elevation. An invisible law raised up the see of Rome; and it may be said that the chief of the Universal Church was born a sovereign. From the scaffold of the martyrs, he ascended a throne which at first escaped observation, but which, like all great things, was imperceptibly consolidated, and became known from its earliest existence, through an indescribable atmosphere of greatness, which surrounded it without any assignable human cause. The Roman Pontiff had need of riches, and riches abounded; he had need of *éclat*, and the most extraordinary splendour was seen to radiate from the throne of St. Peter, to such a degree, that already, in the third century, one of the greatest nobles of Rome observed playfully, as St. Jerome relates, "Promise to make me Bishop of Rome, and I shall at once become a Christian."^a He who should speak here of *religious avidity, avarice, sacerdotal influence*, would prove, indeed, that he is quite up to the level of the age, but that he is by no means equal to the subject. How conceive a sovereignty without treasures? These two ideas are a manifest contradiction. The riches of the Roman Church, therefore, being the sign of its dignity, and the necessary instrument of its legitimate action, were, undoubtedly, the work of Providence, which marked them from the beginning with the seal of legitimacy. They are seen, and it is not known whence they proceed. They are seen, and nobody complains. They are the accumulations of respect, of love, of piety, of faith. From these sources have arisen those vast *patrimoines* which have so much exercised the pens of the learned. St. Gregory, at the close of the fourth century, possessed twenty-three in Italy, in the islands of the Mediterranean,

^a Zaccaria, *Anti-Febron. Vindic.* tom. iv. dissert. ix. cap. iii. p. 33.

in Illyrium, in Dalmatia, in Germany, and in Gaul.^a The jurisdiction of the Popes over these patrimonies is of a peculiar character, which is not easily apprehended in the obscurities of history, but which, nevertheless, is obviously above the mere right of property. The Popes are seen despatching envoys, issuing their commands, and causing themselves to be obeyed in the remotest regions, whilst it remains impossible to designate a right that supremacy, the name of which it had not yet pleased divine Providence to pronounce.

In Rome, while it was yet pagan, the Roman Pontiff already embarrassed the Cæsars. He was only their subject; they had all power against him; he was possessed of none whatever in opposition to them. Nevertheless, they could not keep their ground beside him. There was read upon his forehead *the character of a priesthood so exalted, that the emperor, among whose titles was that of sovereign pontiff, tolerated him in Rome with more impatience than he could suffer in his armies a Cæsar who contested the empire with him.*^b An unseen hand was driving them from *the eternal city*, in order to give it to the *chief of the eternal church*. In the mind of Constantine, perhaps, there was mingled with the embarrassment to which I allude, a beginning of faith and of reverence, but I doubt not that this feeling influenced the determination he came to of transferring the seat of empire, much more than all the political motives that are attributed to him. *Thus was accomplished the decree of the most High.* (Iliad, i. 5.) The same walls could not encircle both the emperor and the Pontiff. Constantine ceded Rome to the Pope. The

^a See the Dissertation of the Abbé Cenni at the end of the book of Cardinal Orsi, *Della origine del dominio e della sovranità de' Rom. Pontefici sopra gli stati loro temporalmente soggetti*. Roma, Pagliarini, 12mo. 1754, p. 306 to 309. The patrimony called *the Cottien Alps* was immense; it contained Genoa and all the maritime coast to the frontiers of France. See the authorities.—Ibid.

^b Bossuet, *Lettre pastor. sur la com. pascale*, No. IV. ex Cyp. epist. li. ad Ant.

conscience of mankind, which is infallible, understood it not otherwise, and hence arose the *fable* of donation, which is *quite true*. Antiquity, which must see and touch everything, soon made of the *giving up* (which it would not even have known how to designate) a *donation* in due form. It beheld it written on parchment, and deposited on the altar of St. Peter.

The moderns discover *forgery* where simplicity itself was only relating what it thought.^a There is nothing, therefore, so real as the donation of Constantine. From the moment it took place, the emperors are obviously no longer at home in Rome. They are like strangers who from time to time go to lodge there by permission. But there is something still more astonishing. Odoacer, with his Heruli in 475, puts an end to the empire of the West. Not long after, the Heruli disappear before the Goths, and they in their turn give place to the Lombards, who take possession of the kingdom of Italy. What power during more than three centuries hindered all princes from establishing permanently their throne at Rome? What arm drove them back to Milan, to Pavia, to Ravenna, &c.? In all this, the *donation* was constantly at work; it sprung from too high a source to fail of being put in force.

It is beyond dispute that the Popes ceased not labouring to preserve to the Greek emperors what remained to them of Italy against the Goths, the Heruli, and the Lombards. They neglected nothing that was calculated to give courage to the exarchs, and inspire the people with fidelity. They unceasingly conjured the Greek emperors to come to the aid of Italy; but what could be obtained from those wretched

^a Did it not also behold an angel terrifying Attila before St. Leo? We moderns see nothing more than the *ascendancy* of the Pontiff; but how paint an *ascendancy*? But for the picturesque language of the men of the fifth century, where would have been that great masterpiece of Raphael? Besides, we are all agreed as to the miracle. An ascendancy which checks Attila is quite as supernatural as an angel; and who knows whether they be really two different things?

princes? Not only were they not able to do any thing for Italy; they even betrayed it systematically, because having treaties with the barbarians, who threatened them on the side of Constantinople, they dared not disturb them in Italy. The state of those beautiful countries cannot be described, and still excites pity as we peruse their history. Laid waste by the barbarians, abandoned by its sovereigns, Italy no longer knew to whom it belonged, and its people were reduced to despair. In the midst of these great calamities, the Popes were the only refuge of the unfortunate, and without desiring it, by the force of circumstances alone, they were substituted for the emperor, and all eyes were fixed upon them. Italians, Heruli, Lombards, French, were all agreed in this respect. Already, in his time, St. Gregory observed: "Whoever attains the place I occupy is overwhelmed with business to such a degree, as to doubt often whether he be prince or pontiff."^a

In many of his letters we find him acting the part of a sovereign administrator. He sends, for instance, a governor to Nepi, with injunctions to the people to obey him as the sovereign pontiff himself. We find, elsewhere, that he sends a tribune to Naples, charged with the guardianship of that great city.^b A great many similar examples might be adduced. In short, he had become in Italy imperceptibly, and without knowing how, in regard to the Greek emperor, what the mayor of the palace was in France, in regard to the titular king.

And, nevertheless, ideas of usurpation were so foreign to the Popes, that one year only before the arrival of Pepin in Italy, Stephen II. still entreated the most wretched of those Greek princes, Leo the Isaurian, to lend an ear to

^a Hoc in loco quisquis pastor dicitur, curis exterioribus graviter occupatur, ita ut sæpe incertum sit utrùm pastoris officium an terreni proceris agat. Lib. i. epist. 25, ad Joh. episc. C. P. et cæt. orient. Patr.—Orsi, in the work quoted above, præf. p. xix.

^b Lib. ii. epist. xi. al. viii. ad Nepes.—Ibid. p. xx.

the remonstrances he had not ceased to address to him, in order to induce him to come to the assistance of Italy.^a

There is a pretty general leaning to the belief that the Popes passed suddenly from a private state to the position of sovereigns, and that they owed all to the Carolingians. Nothing, however, would be less founded than such an idea. Before those celebrated donations which did honour to France more than to the Holy See, although perhaps it is not sufficiently persuaded of this, the Popes were sovereigns in reality, and the title only was wanting to them.

Gregory II. wrote to the Emperor Leo : "*The West has its eyes directed towards our humility. . . . It looks upon us as the arbiter and the moderator of public tranquillity You would find it, if you only ventured to make trial of it, ready to proceed even to the country where you are, there to avenge the wrongs of your subjects of the East.*"

Zachary, who filled the pontifical chair from 741 to 752, sends an embassy to Rachis, king of the Lombards, concludes with him a peace of twenty years, *by virtue of which all Italy was tranquil.*

Gregory II., in 726, sends ambassadors to Charles Martel, and treats with him, as one prince with another.

When Pope Stephen came to France, Pepin went out to meet him with all his family, and paid him the honours due to a sovereign ; the sons of the king prostrated themselves before the pontiff. What bishop, what patriarch in Christendom would have dared pretend to such distinctions ? In a word, the Popes were sovereigns *de facto*, or to speak more exactly, sovereigns by compulsion, previously to all the liberalities of the Carolingians ; and during the time of them even, they ceased not, until the days of Constantine Copronymus, to date their public documents from the years of the emperors, exhorting them incessantly at the same time to defend

^a Deprecans imperialem clementiam ut, juxta id quod et sæpius scripserat, cum exercitu ad tuendas has Italiæ partes modis omnibus adveniret, &c.—Anast. the librarian, quoted in the dissert. of Cenni, *ibid.* p. 203.

Italy, to respect the opinion of the people, to leave consciences in peace ; but the emperors would listen to nothing, and the last hour was come. The people of Italy, driven to despair, took counsel only of themselves. Abandoned by their masters, ravaged by the barbarians, they chose for themselves chiefs and enacted laws. The Popes, having become dukes of Rome both in fact and of right (*de facto et de jure*), no longer able to resist the people who threw themselves into their arms, and equally at a loss how to defend them against the barbarians, turned their eyes at last towards the princes of France.

The rest is well known. What remains to be said after Baronius, Pagi, le Cointe, Marca, Thomassin, Muratori, Orsi, and so many others who have forgotten nothing to place in its true light this great period of history? I shall only make two observations, according to the plan I have traced out for myself.

1. The idea of pontifical sovereignty was so universal and so incontestable, previously to the donations of the Carolingians, that Pepin, before attacking Astulphus, sent to him several ambassadors, in order to induce him to re-establish peace, and “ to RESTORE *the properties of the Holy Church of God and of the Roman republic* ;” and the Pope on his side, through his ambassadors, conjured the Lombard king “ TO RESTORE *willingly, and without effusion of blood, the properties of the Holy Church of God and of the republic of the Romans.*”^a And, in the famous charter, “ Ego Ludovicus ” (Louis le Débonnaire), we read that Pepin and Charlemagne had, by an act of donation, long since RESTORED the exarchate to the blessed apostle and to the Popes.^b

^a Ut pacificè sine ullà sanguinis effusione, propria S. Dei Ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Rom. REDDANT jura. And, above, the expression was RESTITUENDA JURA.—Orsi, lib. i. chap. vii. p. 94, according to Anastasius the librarian.

^b “ Exarchatum quem . . . Pepinus rex . . . et genitor noster Carolus, imperator, B. Petro et prædecessoribus vestris jam dudum per donationis paginam RESTITUERUNT.” This passage is

Can there be imagined a more complete forgetfulness of the Greek emperors, a clearer and more explicit confession of Roman sovereignty?

When, afterwards, the French arms had crushed the Lombards, and re-established the Pope in all his rights, the ambassadors of the Grecian emperor arrived in France, to complain and, "*in a tone of incivility*," to propose to Pepin to give up his conquests," the court of France only laughed at them, and not without good cause. Cardinal Orsi here accumulates authorities of the greatest weight, to establish that the Popes conducted themselves on this occasion according to every rule of morality and public law. I shall not repeat what has been said by this learned writer; his work may be easily consulted.* It does not appear, besides, that there are doubts on this point.

2. The learned writers quoted above have employed much erudition and ingenious reasoning to characterize, with accuracy, the species of sovereignty which the French emperors established at Rome after the expulsion of the Greeks and the Lombards. The public monuments appear pretty often to contradict one another; and it could not be otherwise. Sometimes the Pope commands at Rome, and sometimes the emperor. This arose from the sovereignty having retained much of that ambiguous appearance which we have remarked it as exhibiting before the arrival of the Carovingians. The emperors of Constantinople possessed it by right; the Popes, far from disputing it with them, exhorted them to defend it. They preached to the people obedience, with the greatest sincerity, and nevertheless they did everything. After the great establishment brought about by the French, the Pope and the Romans, accustomed to the kind of government that had preceded, willingly allowed things to be conducted on the same

printed in full, in the new edition of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, tom. xiii. p. 627.—Orsi, *ibid.* cap. x. p. 204.

* Orsi, *ibid.* cap. vii. p. 104 et seqq.

footing. They lent themselves even all the more readily to this form of administration, as it was recommended by gratitude, by affection, and by sound policy. In the midst of the general overthrow which marks this sad but interesting period of history, the immense quantity of robbers which such a state of things supposes—the danger of the barbarians, always at the gates of Rome—the republican spirit which was beginning to take possession of the minds of the Italians—all these causes united, rendered the intervention of the emperors absolutely indispensable in the government of the Popes. But nevertheless, in this undulating state of things, in which the balance of power appears to incline sometimes in contrary directions, it is easy to recognize the sovereignty of the Popes, which is often protected, sometimes shared *de facto* with another power, but never obliterated. They declare war, they make peace; they dispense justice, they punish crimes; they coin money, they receive and send embassies: even the fact which has been perverted into a sort of argument against them, deposes in their favour—I allude to that dignity of *patrician* which they had conferred on Charlemagne, on Pepin, and perhaps even on Charles Martel; for the title certainly signified at the time *the highest dignity a man could enjoy UNDER A MASTER*.*

I dread being too copious; and yet, I say nothing but what is strictly necessary to place in its full light one of the most interesting points in history. Sovereignty, in its natural tendency, resembles the Nile; it conceals its head. That of the Popes alone is an exception to the general law. All its elements have been thoroughly disclosed, in order that it may be obvious to all eyes, “*et vincat cùm judi-*

* *Patricii dicti illo sæculo et superioribus, qui provincias cum summâ auctoritate, sub principum imperio administrabant.—Marca, de Concord. sacerd. et imp. i. 12.*

Marca gives here the formula of the oath the patrician took; and Cardinal Orsi has copied it, ch. ii. p. 23. It is remarkable that, at the conclusion of the ceremony of taking the oath, the patrician received the royal mantle and the diadem.—*Ibid.* p. 27.

catuſ.” There is nothing ſo evidently juſt in its origin as this extraordinary ſovereignty. The incapacity, the baſeneſs, the ferocity of the ſovereigns who preceded it; intolerable tyranny exerciſed over the properties, the perſons, and the conſcience of the people; the formal abandonment of thoſe ſame people, given up without defence to merciless barbarians; the voice of the weſtern empire depoſing its ancient ruler; the new ſovereignty which ariſes, advances, and takes the place of its predecessor without a ſtruggle, without rebellion, without effuſion of blood; impelled by a ſecret, inexplicable, invincible force, and, to the laſt moment, ſwearing faith and fidelity to the feeble and contemptible power it was deſtined ſo ſoon to replace; the right of conqueſt, in fine, obtained and ſolemnly ceded by one of the greateſt men that ever exiſted—by a man ſo great, that greatneſs has pervaded his name, and the voice of mankind has proclaimed it not only *great*, but *grandeur*, even: ſuch are the title-deeds of the Popes. Hiſtory offers nothing that can be at all compared to them.

The ſovereignty, therefore, is diſtinguiſhed from all others both by its origin and its formation. It alſo eminently differs from them, inasmuch as it never, in the whole period of its duration, as I have already obſerved, exhibited that inſatiable ambition for territorial aggrandizement which characterizes all other powers. In fact, neither by its ſpiritual power, which of old it uſed ſo freely, nor by its temporal power, of which it may always have availed itſelf like any other principality of the ſame ſtrength, do we ever behold it tending to increaſe its ſtates through the means that are too familiar to ordinary policy. So that, after having taken into account all human weakneſſes, there remains, not leſs, in the mind of every wiſe obſerver, the idea of a power evidently aided from above.

In regard to the wars carried on by the Popes, it is neceſſary to explain the words *temporal power*. It is equivocal, as has been ſtated above, and indeed it expreſſes among French writers, ſometimes, the action exerciſed over the temporal ſtate of princes, by virtue of the ſpiritual

power, and sometimes the temporal power which belongs to the Pope as sovereign, and which perfectly assimilates him to all other sovereigns.

I shall speak elsewhere of the wars which opinion may have laid to the charge of the spiritual power. As to those which the Popes have sustained, merely as sovereigns, all it appears necessary to say is, that they had as much right to make war as other princes; for no prince has a *right* to wage war unjustly, and every prince has a *right* to carry on a just war. It pleased the Venetians, for instance, to seize upon some towns of Pope Julius II., or at least to retain them against all the rules of justice. The Prince-Pontiff, one of the greatest heads that ever reigned, made them repent bitterly of their proceeding. It was a war like any other, a temporal affair between princes, and utterly foreign to ecclesiastical history. Whence should the Pope derive the singular privilege of being unable to defend himself? Since what time has it been the duty of a sovereign to let himself be stripped of his states without making any resistance? This would be quite a new thesis, and one well calculated to give to robbery the encouragement it certainly does not stand in need of.

It is undoubtedly a very great evil that the Popes should be obliged to wage war. No doubt, also, Julius II., to whom allusion has been made, was too warlike; nevertheless, equity absolves him to a degree that is not easily determined. "Julius," says the Abbé Feller, "allowed the sublime of his position to escape him; he saw not what his wise successors now see so well, that the Roman pontiff is the common Father, and that he ought to be the arbiter of peace, not a kindler of war." (Dict. Hist.)

Yes, when it is possible; but, in such cases, the moderation of the Pope depends on that of other powers. If he is attacked, what will avail him his quality of *common Father*? Must he restrict himself to blessing the cannons that are pointed against him? When Buonaparte invaded the states of the Church, Pius VI. sent an army against him: "Impar congressus Achilli!" Nevertheless, he

maintained the honour of sovereignty, and his standard was seen in the field. But if other princes had had the power and the will to join their arms to those of the Holy Father, would the most violent enemy of the Holy See have dared to blame that war, and condemn in the subjects of the Pope those same exertions which would have covered with glory every other man in the world !

All the sermons addressed to the Popes on the pacific character which becomes their sublime dignity, appear to me very little to the purpose, unless there were question of offensive and unjust wars, which, I believe, have not occurred, or, at all events, so rarely, as by no means to affect my general propositions.

Character, it must still be said, can never be totally effaced in the minds of men. It is quite in the power of nature to implant in the head and in the heart of the Pope the genius and the ascendancy of a Gustavus Adolphus, or a Frederick II. Let the chances of an election raise to the pontifical throne a Cardinal Richelieu, it will be difficult for him to fill it quietly. He must bestir himself ; he must show what he is ; he will often be king without being pontiff, and rarely even will he prevail upon himself to be pontiff without being king. Nevertheless, on these rare occasions, in the midst of the impulses of sovereignty, the pontiff will always be discovered. Take, for instance, that same Julius II. ; he, of all the popes, if I mistake not, who appears to have given the greatest hold to criticism in respect of war, and compare him with Louis XII. ; since history presents them to us in positions absolutely alike,—the one at the siege of Mirandola, the other at Peschiera, during the league of Cambrai. “ The good king, the father of the people, ‘ the courteous gentleman at home,’ ”*

* Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c. tom. iii. chap. cxii.—This ill-natured trait requires to be noticed. I boast not the cuirass of Julius II., although that of Ximenes deserved some praise ; but I will say that, before denouncing the policy of Julius II., we must examine that which he was obliged to oppose. The powers of the second order do what they can manage to effect ; they are

certainly did not pride himself on putting in practice towards the garrison of Peschiera his maxims of clemency.* All the inhabitants were put to the sword; the Governor, André Riva, and his son, were hanged upon the walls.”^b

Behold on the other hand, Julius II. at the siege of Mirandola; he yielded, no doubt, in several points, to the impulses of his natural character, and his entrance by the breach was not exceedingly pontifical, but the moment the cannon became silent, he no longer had enemies; and the English historian of Leo X. has preserved some Latin verses, in which the poet says elegantly to that warrior Pope: “Scarcely is war declared, when you are victorious, but you are as ready to pardon as to conquer. Three things are as one to you,—battle, victory, and forgiveness. One day brought us war; the morrow its termination, and your anger outlived not the hour of strife. The name of Julius bears in it something divine, and leaves us in doubt whether valour or clemency predominate.”^c

Bologna had insulted Julius II. to excess; it had gone so far as to melt down the statues of that haughty pontiff; and, nevertheless, after it was obliged to capitulate at discretion, he confined himself to threats and the levy of a few fines; and not long after, Leo X., then cardinal, having been named legate in that city, tranquillity continued to prevail. In the hands of Maximilian, or even of the *good* Louis XII., Bologna would not have escaped so easily.

afterwards judged as if they had really done all they desired. There is nothing so common, and at the same time so unjust.

* Hist. of the League of Cambray, liv. i. c. xxv.

^b Life and Pontificate of Leo X. by Mr. William Roscoe. London, M’Oreery, 8vo. 1805, tom. ii. chap. viii. p. 68.

^c Vix bellum indictum est quàm vincis, nec citiùs vis

Vincere quàm parcas: hæc tria agis pariter.

Una dedit bellum, bellum lux sustulit una,

Nec tibi quàm bellum longior ira fuit.

Hoc nomen divinum aliquid fert secum, et utrùm sit

Mitior anne idem fortior, ambigitur.

(Casanova, post expugnationem Mirandulæ, 21st June, 1511; Roscoe, *ibid.* p. 85.)

Whoever reads history with attention and without prejudice, will be struck with this difference, even in the Popes who, if the expression may be permitted, were *least Popes (le moins Papes)*. Besides, all of them, *as princes*, had the same rights as other princes, and it is not allowable to blame them in regard to their political operations, even though they should have had the misfortune to do no better than their august colleagues. But if it be observed, in regard to war in particular, that they have been engaged in it less than other princes, that they have carried it on with more humanity, that they have never sought it nor provoked it, and that, from the time when princes, by a sort of tacit convention, which ought not to be overlooked, appear to have agreed to recognize the neutrality of the Popes, we no longer find the latter mixed up with political intrigues or warlike operations; it is impossible not to acknowledge that even in civil affairs they have always maintained that superiority which men have a right to expect from their religious character. In a word, *it has, sometimes, happened to the Popes, as temporal princes, that they conducted themselves no better than other sovereigns.* This is the only thing with which they can justly be reproached. The rest is calumny.

This word *sometimes* must be understood to refer to anomalies which ought never to be taken into consideration. When I say, for instance, that the Popes, as temporal princes, never provoked to war, I do not mean to answer for every fact of their long history, examined line for line; none have a right to require this of me. I insist only, without making useless admissions, on the general character of the pontifical sovereignty. To judge it soundly, we must consider it from a high point of view, and as a whole. Short-sighted people should never read history: they lose their time.

But how difficult it is to judge the Popes without prejudice! The sixteenth century enkindled a mortal hatred to the pontiff, and the incredulity of our own, eldest daughter of the reformation, could not fail to espouse all the passions

of its mother. Of this terrible coalition was born a certain blind antipathy, which will not even be instructed, and which has not yet been swept away by the torrent of universal scepticism. In perusing English publications, we cannot avoid being struck with astonishment at sight of the inconceivable errors with which heads, otherwise most sound and estimable, are still preoccupied.

At the period of the famous debates which took place in the year 1805, in the British parliament, on what was called "Catholic emancipation," a member of the House of Lords thus expressed himself: "I think, NAY, I AM CERTAIN, that the Pope is the miserable puppet of the usurper of the throne of the Bourbons; that he dare not move but by Napoleon's command; and, should he order him to influence the Irish priests to rouse their flocks to rebellion, he could not refuse to obey the despot."^a

But the ink which transmitted to us this curious certainty was scarcely dry, when the Pope, summoned with all the influence of terror to lend himself to the general views of Bonaparte against the British, replied, "that, being the common father of all Christians, he can have no enemies among them;"^b and, rather than bend to the wishes of a confederation, acting at first directly, and afterwards indirectly, against England, he suffers himself to be outraged, driven from his states, imprisoned; thus, in short, commencing that prolonged martyrdom which has commended him so much to the admiration and affection of mankind.

^a Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. London, 1805, 8vo. col. 726. This choleric and insulting language in the mouth of a peer is well calculated to excite surprise; for it is a general rule, to which I would particularly call the attention of every real observer, that in England hatred of the Pope and of the Catholic system is in inverse ratio of the intrinsic dignity of the persons. There are exceptions, no doubt; but few as regards the multitude.

^b See the note of the Cardinal Secretary of State, dated from the palace of the Quirinal, the 19th April, 1808, in reply to that of M. Le Febvre, *chargé d'affaires* of France.

If I had now the honour to converse with that noble member of the British senate, "who thinks, and is even certain," that the Pope is nothing better than a miserable puppet at the orders of the brigands who desire to employ him, I would ask him, with all the candour and consideration due to a man of his class, not what he thinks of the Pope, but what he thinks of himself, when he calls to mind that speech.

CHAPTER VII.

OBJECTS THE POPES HAD IN VIEW, IN THEIR CONTESTS WITH SOVEREIGN PRINCES.

If we examine, according to the incontestable rule just established, the conduct of the Popes during the long struggle they maintained against temporal power, we shall find that they aimed at the attainment of three distinct objects, and that they invariably pursued them by all the means which their twofold character of Pontiff and sovereign placed at their disposal: I. To sustain unshaken the laws of marriage against the overwhelming influence of licentiousness. II. To preserve the rights of the Church and the morals of the priesthood. III. To maintain the liberty of Italy.

I. THE INVIOIABILITY OF MARRIAGE.

A great adversary of the Popes, who has complained much of "the scandal of excommunications," observes, "that it was always marriages, made or broken, which added this new scandal to the first." ^a

^a Lettres sur l'Histoire. Paris, Nyon, 1805, tom. ii. lettre xlvi. p. 485.

I learn from the public prints that the talents and services of the French magistrate, author of these letters, have won for him the double distinction of the peerage and the ministry. A government which imitates that of Great Britain, could not take

Thus, public adultery is a *scandal*, and the act designed to repress it is a *scandal* likewise. Never did two things more different bear the same name. But let us limit ourselves, in the meantime, to the indisputable assertion "that the Sovereign Pontiffs employed principally spiritual arms to restrain the anti-conjugal license of princes."

Now, never did the Popes and the Church in general render a more signal service to the world, than in repressing among princes, by the authority of ecclesiastical censures, the violence of a passion which is terrible even in men of a gentle disposition, but which, in fiercer characters, passes all description, and will always make sport of the holiest laws of marriage, wherever it finds itself at ease. Love, when it is not tamed to a certain degree, by extreme civilization, is a ferocious animal, capable of the most horrible excesses. If we would not have it devour everything, it must be chained, and it can only be so by terror; but what can he be made to dread, who is above all earthly fear? The sanctity of the marriage state, that sacred basis of public happiness, is, above all, of the highest importance in royal families, in which disorders of a certain kind produce consequences that cannot be calculated, and the very existence of which men are far from suspecting. If, in the youth of the northern nations, the Popes had not had the means of alarming the passions of sovereigns, the princes, from caprice to caprice, and from abuse to abuse, would have ended by establishing, by law, divorce, and perhaps even polygamy; and this disorder being repeated, as always happens, in the very lowest classes of society, no eye would have been able any longer to discover limits to such fearful depravation.

example from it more happily than in awarding honours to the great magistracies. I beg the respectable author will permit me to contradict him from time to time, just as I shall find his ideas in opposition to mine; for we are (he and I) a new proof that, with views equally upright on either side, it is possible to be diametrically opposed. This innocent controversy will, I trust, serve the cause of truth without wounding courtesy.

Luther, disencumbered of that inconvenient power, which, on no point of morality, is more inflexible than on that of marriage, was bold enough to write, in his commentary on Genesis, published in 1525, "that on the question, whether one may have several wives, the authority of the patriarchs leaves us free; that the thing is neither permitted nor forbidden; and that, for his part, he gives no decision."^a Edifying theory! which soon found its application in the house of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Suppose the unsubdued princes of the middle ages had been allowed to do as they pleased in this respect, the morals of the Pagan world would soon have re-appeared.^b The Church, even, notwithstanding its vigilance, and its indefatigable efforts—notwithstanding the influence it exercised over the minds of men in ages more or less remote,—obtained, nevertheless, only doubtful and occasional success. It was victorious only in never giving ground.

The noble author recently quoted has made very sensible observations on the repudiation of Eleanor of Guienne: "That repudiation," he says, "made Louis VII. lose the rich provinces she had brought him. . . . The marriage with Eleanor completed the kingdom, and extended it as far as the Sea of Gascony. This was the work of the celebrated Suger, one of the greatest men that ever existed, one of the greatest ministers, one of the greatest benefactors of the monarchy. As long as he lived, he opposed a repudiation which was destined to bring upon France so many calamities; but, after his death, Louis VII. remembered only his motives for personal dissatisfaction against Eleanor. *He ought to have considered that the*

^a Bellarmin, de Controv. Christ. fid. Ingolst. 1601, fol. tom. iii. col. 1734.

^b The kings of the Franks—Gontran, Caribert, Sigibert, Chilpéric, Dagobert—had several wives at the same time, without exciting a murmur; and, if it was a scandal, it occasioned no commotion.—Volt. Essai sur l'Histoire Gén. tom. i. cap. xxx. p. 146.

Admitting the fact, it only proves how much such-like princes required to be repressed.

marriages of kings are something else than merely family affairs: they are, AND THEY WERE THEN PARTICULARLY, political treaties, which cannot be changed without giving the severest blows to the states whose destiny they have regulated."^a

He could not have spoken more to the purpose; but not long ago, when there was question of marriages in regard to which the Pope had thought it necessary to interpose his authority, our author took a very different view of the matter, and the action of the Sovereign Pontiff, designed to prevent public adultery, *was nothing better than a second scandal, added to the scandal of adultery.* Such is the overwhelming influence of worldly and national prejudices, and of the *esprit de corps*, even over the best constituted minds; it was, however, very easy to understand that a great man, capable of checking an impassioned prince, and an impassioned prince capable of allowing himself to be guided by a great man, are two phenomena so rare, that, with the exception of the happy chance which brought into relation such a minister and such a prince, there is nothing in the world so rare.

The writer I have quoted, says, right well, "they were THEN, PARTICULARLY." Undoubtedly, *then, particularly!* Remedies were therefore necessary *then*, which may be dispensed with, which would even be hurtful, *now-a-days.* A high state of civilization tames the passions; in rendering them, perhaps, more abject and more contaminating, it takes from them, at any rate, that ferocious impetuosity which characterizes a barbarian age. Christianity, which never ceases from labouring to improve mankind, chiefly displayed its influence in the youth of nations; but all the power of the Church would be null, if it were not concentrated in one chief, a stranger and a sovereign. The priest who is a subject, is always wanting in strength, and perhaps he ought to be so, in regard to his sovereign. Providence may raise up an Ambrose (*rara avis in terris!*) to strike terror into another Theodosius; but, in the ordi-

^a Lettres sur l'Histoire, *ibid.* lettre xlvi. p. 479 à 481.

nary course of things, good example and respectful remonstrance are all that ought to be expected of the priesthood. God forbid that I should deny the merit and the real efficacy of such means! But for the great work in preparation, other appliances were needed; and to accomplish it, as far as the weakness of our nature would permit, the Popes were chosen. They have done all that could be done for the glory, the dignity, and the preservation especially of sovereign houses. What other power could even suspect the importance of the laws of marriage, on the throne particularly? And what other power could cause them to be put in force, in that high position? Has our grosser age been able even to give its attention to one of the most profound mysteries of the world? It would not, however, be difficult to discover certain laws, nor even to show, if it could be done without failing in respect, how they are sanctioned by well-known events; but what can be said to men who believe that they can make sovereigns?

This book not being a history, I shall not accumulate quotations. It will suffice to observe generally, that the Popes laboured without intermission, and that they alone could so labour, to maintain on thrones the purity and indissolubility of marriage, and that for this reason, if there were no other, they would deserve to be placed at the head of the benefactors of mankind. "For the marriages of princes (these are the words of Voltaire) constitute, in Europe, the destiny of the people; *and never was there a court wholly abandoned to debauchery, but there were also revolutions and even seditions.*"^a

This same Voltaire, it is true, after having borne witness in this splendid manner to the truth, dishonours himself elsewhere, by a glaring contradiction, which he endeavours to sustain by a pitiful remark:

"The adventure of Lotharius," says he, "was the first *scandal*, in regard to marriage, among the crowned heads

^a Voltaire, Essai sur l'Hist. Gén. tom. iii. chap. ci. p. 518; chap. cii. p. 520.

of the West." ^a Here we have the word *scandal* applied with the same propriety which we admired above; but what follows is exquisite: "*The ancient Romans and the nations of the East were more fortunate in this matter.*" ^b

How signally absurd! The ancient Romans had no kings; in later times they were ruled by monsters. The people of the East have polygamy with all its results. We also, in our days, should have monsters to rule over us, or polygamy, or both the one and the other, without the Popes.

Lotharius, having repudiated his wife Theutberga, in order to espouse Waldrada, caused his new marriage to be sanctioned by two councils, the one assembled at Metz, and the other at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope Nicholas I. annulled it, and his successor, Adrian II., made the king swear, whilst giving him the holy communion, that he had sincerely quitted Waldrada (which, however, was not the case), and exacted the same oath from all the nobles by whom Lotharius was accompanied. These courtiers almost all died suddenly, and the king himself expired, exactly one month after his oath. Upon this Voltaire was sure to tell us *that historians failed not to pronounce the event miraculous.* ^c In reality men are often astonished at things less astonishing; but there is not question here of miracles; let it suffice to observe, that those great and memorable acts of spiritual authority deserve the unfailing gratitude of mankind, and never could have emanated but from the Sovereign Pontiffs.

And when Philip, king of France, in 1092, resolved to espouse a woman already married, were not the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Senlis and of Bayeux, so good as to bless that strange marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of Ives and Chartres?

"When a king commands crime, he is too readily obeyed."

The Pope alone, therefore, could offer effectual opposi-

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. i. chap. xxx. p. 449.

^b *Ibid.* tom. i. chap. xxx. p. 499.

^c *Ibid.*

tion ; and, far from showing an excess of severity, he was satisfied at last with a promise which was but imperfectly fulfilled.

In these two examples we behold all the rest. The right of opposition could not be better placed, even temporally, than in a power that is both foreign and sovereign. For there is no *deze majesty* between majesties which thwart one another, counterbalance one another, or even come directly into collision, none being degraded by combating their equals ; whereas, if the opposition be in the state itself, each act of resistance, in whatever way it may arise, compromises sovereignty.

The time is come when, for the happiness of mankind, it is highly desirable the Popes should resume an enlightened jurisdiction over the marriages of princes, not by a terrible *veto*, but by simple refusals, which ought to satisfy the reason of Europe. Fatal religious discords have divided the European world into three great families—the Latin, the Protestant, and that which is called Greek. This schism has narrowed exceedingly the circle of marriages in the Latin family ; with the other two there is less danger, no doubt, the indifference in regard to dogma lending itself without difficulty to every kind of arrangement ; but with us the danger is immense. If a remedy is not speedily applied, all the august races will decline rapidly to destruction, and it would undoubtedly be a very criminal weakness to deny that the evil has already begun. Let men make haste to reflect on this whilst it will yet avail them. Every new dynasty being a plant which grows only in human blood, contempt of the most evident principles exposes Europe anew, and, consequently the world, to interminable carnage. O princes ! whom we love, whom we venerate, for whom we are ready to shed our blood at the first call, save us from *wars of succession*. We have adopted your families ; preserve them ! You have succeeded your fathers ; why would you not that your sons should succeed you ? And what will our devotedness avail you if you render it useless ? Suffer, therefore, truth to reach you ; and, since

the most inconsiderate counsels have sealed the lips of the High Priest, so as that he dare not tell it you any more, permit, at least, that your faithful servants bear it to your ears.

What law in all nature is more evident than that which has ordained that everything which germinates in the universe should desire a foreign soil? The seed is reluctantly developed on that same ground which bore the stem it sprung from; the corn of the plains ought to be sown upon the high grounds, and that which the mountains produce in the plains. The seed of every production is desired to be brought from a distance. In the animal kingdom, this law is still more striking; and, accordingly, all legislators did homage to it by prohibitions more or less general. Among the degenerate nations that forgot themselves so far as to permit marriage between brothers and sisters, those infamous unions produced monsters. The Christian law, one of the distinguishing characteristics of which is, that it takes possession of all general ideas to bring them together and perfect them, greatly extended those prohibitions. If there was sometimes excess in this way, it was on the side of good, and never did the canons on this point equal in severity the laws of China.^a In the physical order, the animals are our masters. By what deplorable blindness does the man who will spend an enormous sum to bring together, for instance, the Arabian horse and the mare of Normandy, take to himself, nevertheless, without the slightest difficulty, a wife of his own blood? Happily, all our faults are not mortal; but all, however, are faults, and all become mortal by continuation and repetition. Every organic form bearing within itself a principle of destruction, if two of these principles come to be united, they will produce a third form incomparably worse; for all the powers which unite not only add to one another, but also multiply. Would the Sovereign Pontiff, by any chance,

^a There are only one hundred names in China, and marriage is prohibited between all persons who bear the same name, even although there be no relationship.

possess the right to dispense with physical laws? A sincere and systematic partisan of his prerogatives, such an one, I must confess, was quite unknown to me. Is not modern Rome taken by surprise, or in a fit of absence, when history informs her what was thought in the age of Tiberius and Caligula, of certain unions then unheard of?^a and would not those accusing lines which resounded in the theatres of old, repeated to-day by the lips of sages, meet with at least a feeble echo within the walls of St. Peter's?^b

No doubt extraordinary circumstances exact sometimes, or at least permit, extraordinary dispositions; but it must be remembered also, that every exception to the law, admitted by the law, only requires to be pronounced law.

Even although my respectful voice should reach those exalted spheres, where prolonged errors may produce such baneful consequences, it cannot there be taken for that of boldness or imprudence. God has given to candour, to fidelity, to uprightness, accents which it is not possible either to counterfeit or misunderstand.

II. MAINTENANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS AND OF THE MORALS OF THE CLERGY.

It may be literally said, begging pardon for a too familiar expression, that towards the tenth century the human race in Europe *had run mad*. From the intermingling of Roman corruption with the ferocity of the barbarians who had inundated the empire, there resulted at last a state of things which happily will never perhaps be witnessed any more. *Ferocity and debauchery, anarchy and poverty, were in every state*. Never was ignorance more general.^c To defend the Church against the fearful torrent of corruption and moral darkness, nothing less was necessary than a power of a superior order, and altogether new in the world. This power was that of the Popes. They themselves, in that

^a Tacite, Ann. xii. 5, 6, 7.

^b Senecæ Trag. Octav. i. 138, 139.

^c Voltaire, Essai sur l'Hist. Gén. tom. i. ch. xxxviii. p. 533.

miserable age, paid a fatal but passing tribute to the general disorder. *The Pontifical Chair was oppressed, dishonoured, stained with blood;*^a but it speedily resumed its ancient dignity, and to the Popes was the world indebted for the new order of things which was established.^b

It would be quite allowable, no doubt, to express indignation at the dishonesty which insists with so much bitterness on the vices of some Popes, without saying a word about the awful depravation which prevailed in their time.

I pass now to the great question which made so much noise in the world—the question of investitures, agitated at that time with a degree of ardour which men, even tolerably well informed, are at a loss to understand now-a-days.

Assuredly it was not a vain quarrel. The temporal power openly threatened to extinguish ecclesiastical supremacy. The feudal spirit which then predominated was tending to reduce the Church in Germany and Italy to a great fief holding of the emperor. Words, always dangerous, were so particularly on this point, inasmuch as that of *benefice* belonged to feudal language, and expressed equally the fief and the ecclesiastical title, for the fief was eminently the *benefice* or *benefit*.^c Laws even were required to prevent prelates from giving in fief the property of the Church, all men desiring to be either vassal or superior.^d

Henry V. demanded either that the investitures should be given up to him, or that the bishops should be obliged

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. i. ch. xxxiv. p. 416.

^b "It is astonishing, that, under so many Popes of such scandalous lives (tenth century), the Roman Church did not lose either its prerogatives or its pretensions."—Voltaire, *ibid.* ch. xxxv.

It is well to say "it is astonishing:" the phenomenon, humanly speaking, is inexplicable.

^c *Sic progressum est ut ad filios deveniret (feudum), in quem scilicet dominus hoc vellet beneficium pertinere.*—*Consuet. Feud.* lib. i. tit. i. sec. i.

^d *Episcopum vel abbatem feudum dare non posse.*—*Ibid.* lib. i. tit. vi.

to renounce all the great properties and all the rights which they held of the empire.^a

In this pretension there is manifestly confusion of ideas. The prince considered only the temporal possessions and the feudal title. Pope Calistus II. proposed to him to establish things on the same footing they were on in France, where, although the investitures were not taken with the ring and crosier, the bishops failed not fully to acquit themselves of their duties on account of the temporalities and the fiefs.^b

At the Council of Rheims, held in 1119, by that same Calistus II., the French already proved what a nice ear they had ; for the Pope having said, " We expressly forbid to receive at the hands of a lay person the investiture either of churches or of ecclesiastical property," the whole assembly exclaimed against him, because the canon appeared to refuse to princes the right of bestowing fiefs and *regales* depending on their crowns. But as soon as the Pope had changed the expression, and said, " We absolutely forbid to receive from lay persons the investiture of bishoprics and abbeys," there was but one voice in approbation of the decree and the sentence of excommunication. There were at this council at least fifteen archbishops, two hundred bishops of France, Spain, England, and even Germany. The king of France was present, and Suger gave his approbation.

This celebrated minister speaks only of Henry V. as a parricide, devoid of all feeling of humanity ; and the king of France promised to the Pope that he would assist him with all his power against the emperor.^c

This is no caprice of the Pope, but the opinion of the whole Church, and that, moreover, of the most enlightened temporal power of the time to which reference could be made.

Pope Adrian IV. gave a second example of the extreme

^a Maimbourg, Hist. de la Décad. de l'Empire, tom. ii. liv. iv. an 1109.

^b Id. ib. an 1119.

^c Id. ib. an 1119.

attention which was necessary at that time for distinguishing things which could not either differ more widely, or approach one another more nearly. This Pope having advanced, without, perhaps, weighing well what he said, that the emperor (Frederick I.) *held of him the BENEFICE of the imperial crown*, that prince believed it to be his duty to contradict him publicly in a circular letter; upon which the Pope, seeing what alarm the word benefice had excited, hastened to explain, declaring that by *benefice* he had meant *benefit*.

Meanwhile the emperor of Germany sold publicly ecclesiastical benefices. The priests carried arms; a scandalous concubinage stained the sacerdotal order; there was wanting only some wrong head to annihilate the priesthood by proposing the marriage of priests as a remedy for greater evils. The Holy See alone was able to resist the torrent, and, at least, to place the Church in such a position as that she could wait, without being totally subverted, the reformation which was destined to be brought about in succeeding centuries. Let us listen once more to Voltaire, whose natural good sense makes it to be regretted that passion so often deprives him of it: "It follows from the whole history of those times, that society in the nations of the West had *few certain rules*, that states had *few laws*, and that the Church desired to supply this want."^b

But among all the Pontiffs called to this great work, St. Gregory VII. appears in greatest majesty.

Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.

The historians of his time, even those whom their birth might have inclined to the side of the emperors, have done

^a Maimbourg, *ibid.* liv. iii. an 1074. "Frederick tarnished by several acts of tyranny the lustre of his fine qualities. He quarrelled unnecessarily with different popes; he seized upon the revenues of vacant edifices, appropriated the nomination to bishoprics, and openly made simoniacal traffic in what was sacred."—*Vies des Saints*, trad. de l'Anglais, in 8vo. tom. iii. p. 522, Saint Guldin, 18th April.

^b Volt. *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. i. ch. xxx. p. 50.

full justice to this great man. "He was," says one of them, "a man profoundly versed in sacred letters, and brightly adorned with all kinds of virtues."^a "He illustrated," says another, "in his conduct, all the virtues which his lips taught mankind;"^b and Fleury, who, as is well known, has no great indulgence for the Popes, nevertheless does not refuse to acknowledge that Gregory VII. "was a virtuous man, born with great courage, educated in the most severe monastic discipline, and full of ardent zeal for purifying the Church of the vices with which he beheld it infected, particularly of simony and the incontinency of the clergy."^c

It was a splendid moment, and one which would furnish the subject of a very beautiful painting, that of the interview of Canossa, near Reggio, in 1077; when this Pope, holding the Eucharist in his hands, turned towards the emperor, and summoned him to swear, *as he himself swore, on his eternal salvation, that he had never acted except with perfect purity of intention, for the glory of God and the happiness of the people*, whilst the emperor, overwhelmed by his conscience, and by the influence of the pontiff, dared not repeat the formula, nor receive the communion.

Gregory, therefore, presumed not too much upon himself, when, with the utmost reliance on his own strength, undertaking the mission of instituting the sovereignty of Europe, still young at that epoch, and in the wild strength of its passions, he wrote these remarkable words: "We take pains, with the divine assistance, to provide emperors, kings, and other sovereigns with the spiritual arms of which they stand in need, to appease in their dominions the unruly tempests of pride." That is to say, I TEACH THEM

^a Virum sacris litteris eruditissimum et omnium virtutum genere celeberrimum. (Lambert de Schafnabourg, the most faithful historian of those times.)—Maimbourg, *ibid.* ann. 1071 ad 1076.

^b Quod verbo docuit exemplo declaravit. (Othon de Frisingue, *ibid.* ann. 1073.) The testimony of this annalist is above suspicion.

^c Disc. iii. sur l'Hist. Ecclés. No. 17, and Disc. iv. No. 1.

THAT A KING IS NOT A TYRANT ; and who besides himself could have taught them such a lesson ?^a

Maimbourg seriously complains, “ that the imperious and inflexible temper of Gregory VII. could not permit him to accompany his zeal with that admirable moderation which distinguished his five predecessors.”^b

Unfortunately, the *admirable moderation* of those pontiffs corrected nothing, and they were invariably slighted. Never was violence put a stop to by moderation. Never are powers balanced except by efforts in contrary directions. The emperors carried their proceedings against the Popes to unheard-of excesses, of which mention is never made ; the latter in their turn may have passed sometimes the bounds of moderation, in regard to the emperors, and great noise is made about those somewhat exaggerated acts, which are exhibited as crimes. But human affairs are never otherwise. No political amalgamation could ever be brought about except by the intermingling of different elements, which, having clashed at first, ended by combining and settling down in tranquillity.

The Popes disputed not with the emperors’ investiture *by the sceptre*, but only investiture *by the crosier and the ring*. This was nothing, it will be said. On the contrary, it was everything. And how would they have contested the point so keenly on either side, if the question had not been important ? The Popes did not even call in question the elections, as Maimbourg proves by the example of

^a *Imperatoribus et regibus, cæterisque principibus, ut elationes maris et superbiæ fluctus comprimere valeant arma humilitatis, Deo auctore, providere curamus.*

Of this great man, nevertheless, Voltaire has presumed to say : “ The Church has numbered him among the saints, as the people of antiquity deified their defenders ; and sages have ranked him among fools.” (Tom. iii. ch. xlvi. p. 44.) Gregory VII. a fool ! and a fool *in the opinion of sages, such as the ancient defenders of the people!!!* Well—but, there is no refuting a fool (here the expression is correct) ; it is sufficient to let him appear and speak.

^b *Hist. de la Decad., &c. liv. iii. ann. 1073.*

Suger.^a They consented, moreover, to investiture *by respect*; by which is understood, that they did not hinder the prelates, considered as vassals, from receiving at the hands of their lord paramount, by feudal investiture, *that primary and mixed dominion (ce mère et mixte empire)*, according to the language of feudal times, real essence of the fief, which supposes, on the part of the feudal lord, a participation in the sovereignty, paid for to the lord paramount who is its source, by political dependence and military service.^b

But they would not have investiture *by the crosier and the ring*, lest the temporal sovereign, by making use of these two religious insignia at the ceremony of investiture, and in thus changing the benefice into a fief, should appear to confer, himself, the spiritual title and jurisdiction; and, on this point, the emperor beheld himself at last obliged to yield.^c But ten years later, Lotharius renewed the contest, and endeavoured to obtain from Pope Innocent II. the re-establishment of investiture by the *crosier and ring* (1131); so much did this object *appear*, that is, *really was*, important!

Gregory VII. proceeded farther, no doubt, on this point

^a Hist. de la Décad. &c. liv. iii. ann. 1121.

^b Voltaire is exceedingly witty on the subject of feudal government. "The origin of that species of government," says he, "has long been sought for. It must be supposed, that it has no other than the ancient custom of all nations to impose homage and tribute on the weakest." (Ibid. tom. i. ch. xxxiii. p. 512.) Behold the extent of Voltaire's knowledge regarding that government which *was*, as Montesquieu has observed with much truth, *at one time unique in history!* All the serious works of Voltaire, if he ever did write seriously, *sparkle* with similar traits; and it is useful to call attention to them, in order that all may be well convinced that no degree of wit and talent can give to any man the right to speak of what he knows nothing about.

"Emperors and kings pretended not to confer the Holy Ghost, but they desired homage on account of the temporalities they might have given. Men fought about an indifferent ceremony." (Volt. *ibid.* ch. xlvi.) Voltaire did not understand the question.

^c Hist. de la Décad. &c. liv. iii. ann. 1121.

than the other Popes, since he believed himself entitled to dispute with the sovereign the purely feudal oath of the vassal prelate. Here may be seen one of those exaggerations to which I have just alluded; but we must also consider the excess which Gregory had in view. He dreaded the *fief* which eclipsed the *benefice*. He dreaded warrior priests. Provided we look from the proper point of view, we shall find to be less insufficient than is imagined the reason adduced by the Council of Châlons-sur-Saône (1073), for withdrawing ecclesiastics from feudal service:—"That the hands which consecrated the body of Jesus Christ ought not to be placed within those which were too often stained by the effusion of human blood; and also, perhaps, by rapine and other crimes."^a Every age has its prejudices, and its peculiar way of thinking, according to which it ought to be judged. Ours is guilty of intolerable sophistry, in constantly maintaining that what would merit condemnation now-a-days, was equally to be condemned in past times; and that Gregory VII. ought to have proceeded in regard to Henry IV. as would Pius VII. towards his Majesty the Emperor Francis II.

Pope Gregory VII. is accused of having sent too many legates; but he did so for no other reason than that he could not rely on the provincial councils; and Fleury, who cannot be suspected, and who preferred those councils to the legates,^b admits, nevertheless, that if the German prelates dreaded so much the arrival of the legates, *it was because they were conscious of simony*, and saw their

^a It is well known that the vassal, in taking the oath, which preceded the investiture, held his hands joined within those of his lord.

The council declared it execrable that pure hands, which could CREATE GOD, &c. (Hume's William Rufus, ch. v.) The expression to CREATE GOD well deserves to be remarked. In vain do we repeat that the assertion "*this bread is God*" can only be that of the unwise. (Bossuet, Hist. des Var. liv. ii. No. 3.) Protestants themselves will probably come to an end before they make an end of reproaching us on this head.

^b Disc. iv. No. 11.

judges approach.^a In short, it was all over with the Church, humanly speaking ; it had no longer any form or government, and soon, too, it would no longer have had a name even, but for the extraordinary intervention of the Popes, who substituted their own for erring or corrupt authorities, and governed in a more direct manner, for the purpose of re-establishing order.

There would have been an end, also, to European monarchy, if certain detestable sovereigns had not encountered in their path a formidable impediment ; and, to speak only at present of Gregory VII., I doubt not but every equitable man will subscribe to the perfectly disinterested opinion expressed by the historian of the revolutions of Germany :—“ The simple exposition of the facts,” says he, “ demonstrates that the conduct of this pontiff was that which every man of a firm character and enlightened mind would have held in the same circumstances.”^b In vain will men struggle against truth ; all candid minds must at length agree to this decision.

III. LIBERTY OF ITALY.

THE third object the Popes incessantly pursued, as temporal princes, was the liberty of Italy, which they desired to withdraw entirely from the power of Germany.

“ After the three Othos, the combat between German domination and Italian liberty remained for a long time in the same state.^c It appears to me obvious that the real origin of the quarrel was, that the Popè and the Romans would not have emperors at Rome ;”^d which means, that they would not have masters among them.

Here are the facts. The posterity of Charlemagne was extinct. Neither Italy, nor the Popes particularly, owed

^a Hist. Eccles. liv. xlii. No. 11.

^b Rivoluzione della Germania, di Carlo Denina, Firenze, Piatti, in 8vo. tom. ii. cap. v. p. 49.

^c Voltaire, Essai sur l'Hist. Gén. tom. i. ch. xxxvii. p. 526.

^d Ibid. ch. xlvi.

anything to the princes who replaced it in Germany. "Those princes settled everything by the sword.^a The Italians had undoubtedly a more natural right to liberty than a German had to be their master.^b The Italians never obeyed, but with reluctance, the German blood; and that liberty which the towns of Italy so ardently worshipped, paid little respect to the possession of the German Cæsars."^c In those unhappy times, "the papacy was venal, as well as almost all the bishoprics; if the authority of the emperors had continued, the Popes would only have been their chaplains, and Italy their slave."^d

"The imprudence of Pope John XII. in having called the Germans to Rome, was the source of all the calamities with which Rome and Italy were afflicted during so many ages."^e The pontiff saw not what sort of pretensions he was about to let loose, and the incalculable influence of a name borne by a great man. "It does not appear that Germany, under Henry the Fowler, pretended to be the empire; it was otherwise under Otho the Great."^f This prince, who knew his strength, "made himself be crowned, and obliged the Pope to swear fealty to him."^g The Germans, therefore, held the Romans in subjection, and the Romans shook off the yoke as soon as they were able."^h Such was the whole public law of Italy during that melancholy period, when men absolutely acted without principle. "The right of succession, even, (that Palladium of public tranquillity), did not appear to be at that time established in any state of Europe.ⁱ Rome knew neither what she was nor to whom she belonged.^j The custom came to be

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. ii. ch. xlvii. p. 57.

^b *Ibid.* tom. ii. ch. xlvii. p. 56.

^c *Ibid.* ch. lxi. and lxii.

^d *Ibid.* tom. i. ch. xxxviii. p. 329 to 431.

^e *Ibid.* ch. xxxvi. p. 521.

^f *Ibid.* tom. ii. ch. xxxix. pp. 513, 514.

^g *Ibid.* tom. i. ch. xxxvi. p. 521.

^h *Ibid.* p. 522, 523.

ⁱ *Ibid.* ch. xl. p. 261.

^j *Ibid.* ch. xxxvii. p. 527.

established of giving crowns, not by the right of blood, but by the votes of the nobles.^a

“ Nobody knew what the empire was.^b There were no laws in Europe.^c Neither right of birth, nor right of election was acknowledged ; Europe was a chaos, in which the strongest raised themselves on the ruins of the weak, to be afterwards in their turn overthrown. The whole history of those times is only that of some barbarian captains, who disputed with the bishops the privilege of ruling over imbecile serfs.^d

“ There was really no longer an empire, either by law or in fact (*de jure* or *de facto*). The Romans, who had confided themselves to Charlemagne by acclamation, would not acknowledge bastards—strangers who were scarcely masters of a fragment of Germany. It was an odd sort of Roman Empire.^e The Germanic body styled itself the *Holy Roman Empire*, whilst in reality it was neither HOLY, NOR ROMAN, NOR AN EMPIRE.^f

“ It appears evident, that the great design of Frederick II. was to establish in Italy the throne of the new Cæsars, and *it is quite certain, at least, that he desired to reign over Italy with unlimited and undivided sway.* This was the hidden root of all his quarrels with the Popes ; he employed, by turns, craft and violence, and the Holy See combated him with the same arms.^g The Guelfs, those partisans of the papacy, but STILL MORE THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, always balanced the power of the Ghibellines, partisans of the empire. The object of the differences between Frederick and the Holy See NEVER WAS RELIGION.”^h

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. i. ch. xxxvii. p. 527.

^b *Ibid.* tom. ii. ch. xlvii. p. 56, ch. lxiii. p. 223.

^c *Ibid.* tom. ii. ch. xxiv.

^d *Ibid.* tom. i. ch. xxxii. p. 508, 509, 510.

^e *Ibid.* tom. ii. ch. lxvi. p. 267. ^f *Ibid.*

^g That is to say, *with the sword and with policy.* I should like to be informed what new arms were brought to light in those days, and what the Popes *ought* to have done at the time of which there is question.—Voltaire, tom. ii. ch. lii. p. 98.

^h Volt. *Essai sur l'Hist. Gén.* tom. ii. ch. lii. p. 98.

With what face can the same author, forgetting these solemn avowals, take upon him to tell us elsewhere:—“From the time of Charlemagne till our days, the war of the empire and the priesthood was the source of all revolutions; *it is the clue to the labyrinth of modern history?*”^a In what respect, in the first place, is modern a *labyrinth* more than ancient history?

For my part, I must acknowledge that I understand more about the Capetian dynasty than that of the Pharaohs; but we may overlook this error of expression, much less erroneous than the things expressed. What does Voltaire mean by his *clue*, admitting, as he formally does, that the deadly struggle between the two parties in Italy was wholly foreign to religion? It is false that there was a *war* in the real sense of the term, between the *empire and the priesthood*. That there was, the enemies of the Church have never ceased to repeat, in order to render the priesthood responsible for all the blood that was shed during that great struggle; but it was in reality a war between Germany and Italy—between usurpation and liberty—between the master who imposes fetters and the slave who would shake them off—a war in which the Popes did their duty as Italian princes and wise politicians, in espousing the cause of Italy, since they could neither favour the emperors without dishonouring themselves, nor even attempt to remain neutral without hastening to destruction.

Henry VI., king of Sicily and emperor, having died at Messina in 1197, a war of succession broke out in Germany between Philip, duke of Suabia, and Otho, son of Henry Leo, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. The latter was descended from the house of the Princes of *Este Guelf*, and Philip of *Ghibelline* princes.^b The rivalry of these two

^a Volt. Essai sur l'Hist. Gén. tom. iv. ch. cxcv. p. 369.

^b Muratori, Antich. Ital. in 4to. Monaco, 1766, tom. iii. disert. li. p. 111.

It is remarkable, that although these two factions were born in Germany, and came from thence into Italy, as it were, *ready made*, the Guelf princes, nevertheless, before reigning in Bavaria

princes gave birth to the two celebrated factions which for such a length of time made Italy desolate ; but there was nothing more foreign to the Popes and the priesthood. Civil war once kindled, it was quite necessary to take a side and join battle. By their character, which was so much respected, and by the immense authority which they possessed, the Popes were naturally placed at the head of the noble party with whom were propriety, justice, and national independence. The imagination then became accustomed to see only the Pope instead of Italy ; but of that country in reality there was question, and *by no means of religion*. This fact cannot be too often repeated.

The venom of those two factions had penetrated so deeply into the hearts of the Italians, that, as they became divided, the very words lost their original acceptation, and the terms Guelf, Ghibelline, at last came only to denote persons who hated one another. During this terrible fever the clergy did what they will always do. They forgot nothing that was in their power in order to re-establish peace, and more than once bishops were seen, accompanied by their clergy, throwing themselves with the crucifix and the relics of the saints between two armies ready to join battle, and conjure them, in the name of religion, to avoid the effusion of human blood. They did much good, without being able to extinguish the evil.^a

“There is no Pope,”—and this is also the language of a severe censor of the Holy See,—“who has not reason to dread the aggrandizement of the emperors in Italy. The ancient pretensions will be found sufficient the day they can be made available and advantageous.”^b

There never, therefore, was a Pope whose duty it was

and Saxony, were Italians ; so that the faction of this name, in arriving in Italy, seemed to return to the land of its origin.

^a Muratori, *ibid.* p. 110.—*Lettres sur l'Histoire*, tom. iii. liv. lxiii. p. 230.

^b *Lettres sur l'Histoire*, tom. iii. lett. lxiii. p. 230.

Further admissions of the same author, tom. ii. lett. lxiii. p. 437, and lett. xxxiv. p. 316.

not to oppose them. Where is the charter by which Italy was given to the emperors of Germany? Where was it discovered that the Pope ought not to act as a temporal prince, that he ought to be completely passive, and allow himself to be beat, plundered, &c.? Never will this be proved.

At the time of Rodolph (1274), "the ancient rights of the Empire were lost and the new house could not claim them without injustice ; nothing is more inconsistent than in maintaining the rights of the Empire to reason according to what it was under Charlemagne."^a

The Popes, therefore, as chiefs of the Italian association, and the natural protectors of the people who composed it, had every imaginable reason for opposing, with all their power, the renewal in Italy of that nominal empire which, notwithstanding the titles affixed to its edicts, was neither *holy*, nor *Roman*, nor *an empire*. The sack of Milan, one of the most horrible events in history, *would alone suffice*, in the opinion of Voltaire, *to justify all the proceedings of the Popes*.^b

What shall we say of Otho II. and his famous banquet of the year 981? He invites a great number of nobles to a magnificent feast, in the course of which an officer of the Emperor enters with a list of those whom his master had proscribed. They are all conducted to a neighbouring apartment, and there put to death. Such were the princes with whom the Popes had to deal.

And when Frederick, with the most abominable inhumanity, caused to be hanged in cold blood relations of the Pope, made prisoners in a conquered town,^c it was allowable,

^a Lettres sur l'Hist. tom. ii. lett. xxxiv. p. 316.

^b "C'était bien justifier les Papes que d'en user ainsi."—Volt. Essai sur l'Hist. Gén. tom. ii. ch. lxi. p. 156.

^c In 1241. It is worth while to hear Maimbourg on these amiable deeds. (Art. ann. 1250.) "The good qualities of Frederick were obscured by several others of a very bad description, and especially by his immorality, by his insatiable desire of vengeance, and by his cruelty, which made him commit great crimes, which God, nevertheless, as we may believe, graciously forgave in his last illness." AMEN.

we should suppose, to make some attempts to get rid of such public law.

The greatest misfortune for man, in a political point of view, is to be subject to a foreign power. No humiliation, no torture of the feelings, can be compared to it. The subject people, unless it be protected by some extraordinary law, does not think that it obeys the sovereign, but the nation of that sovereign. Now, no nation willingly obeys another, for the very plain reason that no nation understands how to govern another. Observe the wisest nations, and those that are best governed at home; you will see, that when there is question of governing other nations, they lose all their wisdom, and no longer resemble what they are at other times. The thirst of domination being innate in man, the desire to make power be felt is not perhaps less natural; the stranger who comes to rule a subject people in the name of a distant sovereignty, instead of informing himself of the national modes of thinking, in order to conform to them, appears only too often to study them in order to thwart them; he believes himself to be all the more master the more heavy the yoke is made; he mistakes surliness for dignity, and seems to think that dignity better attested by the indignation he excites than by the benedictions he might obtain.

And hence all nations have concurred in placing among the first ranks of great men those fortunate citizens who had the honour to extricate their country from a foreign yoke. Heroes, if they have succeeded, martyrs, if they have failed of success, their names will live throughout all ages. Modern stupidity would except only the Popes from this universal apotheosis, and deprive them of the immortal glory which is due to them as temporal princes, for having laboured without ceasing to make their country free.

It is easily conceived how certain French writers refuse to do justice to Saint Gregory VII. Blindfolded by Protestant, philosophical, Jansenist, and parliamentary prejudices, what can they see through this quadruple bandage? Parliamentary despotism may even go so far as to forbid the

national liturgy to attach a certain celebrity to the feast of St. Gregory, and the priesthood, in order to avoid dangerous collisions, will be obliged to yield ;^a confessing thus the abject servitude of that church, of whose fabulous liberties we have heard so much. But you who are strangers to all these prejudices, you inhabitants of those beautiful countries which St. Gregory so ardently longed to enfranchise, you whom gratitude, at least, ought to enlighten,

. Vos ô
Pompilius sanguis !

Heirs, too, in so many respects of ancient Greece, you to whom there is wanting only unity and independence, erect altars to the sublime pontiff who did miracles to give you a name.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE NATURE OF THE POWER EXERCISED BY THE POPES.

ALL that can be said against the temporal authority of the Popes, and against the use which they have made of it, is found united, and in a manner concentrated, in those two violent lines which fell from the pen of a French magistrate: "The mad idea of the temporal omnipotence of the Popes inundated Europe with blood and fanaticism."^b

^a In France, the festival of *Gregory VII.* was celebrated by the office, *Common of Confessors*, the Gallican church (so free as all the world knows) not having dared to decree, in his honour, a PROPER office, lest it should fall at variance with the parliaments which had condemned the memory of this Pope by decrees of the 20th July, 1729, and of the 23rd February, 1730.—Zaccharia, *Anti-Febronius vindicatus*, tom. i. dissert. ii. ch. v. p. 387, note 13.

It merits remark, that those same magistrates who condemn the memory of a Pope who has been declared a saint, will complain loudly that such or such a Pope has MONSTROUSLY confounded, in practice, the use of the two powers.—Lett. sur l'Hist. tom. iii. lett. lxii. p. 221.

^b Lett. sur l'Hist. tom. ii. lett. xxviii. p. 222 ; *ibid.* lett. xli.

Now, with this writer's permission, it is not true that the Popes ever made pretensions to *temporal omnipotence*; it is not true that the power which they sought was *madness*, and it is not true that that pretension had *for nearly four hundred years deluged Europe with blood and fanaticism*.

In the first place, when we abstract from the *pretension* attributed to the Popes, the material possession of certain countries, and the sovereignty over those countries, what remains cannot certainly be called *temporal omnipotence*. Now this is precisely the state of the case, for never did the sovereign pontiffs pretend to increase their temporal dominions to the prejudice of legitimate princes, nor embarrass the exercise of sovereignty by those princes; much less did they ever take possession of it. They never maintained anything beyond *the right of judging the princes who were subject to them, in the spiritual order, when those princes became guilty of certain crimes*.

This is quite a different thing; and not only can this right, if it exists, not be called *temporal omnipotence*, but it would be called much more correctly *spiritual omnipotence*, since the Popes never assumed anything except by virtue of their spiritual power; hence the question is limited entirely to the legitimacy and the extent of this power.

And if the exercise of this power, which is acknowledged to be legitimate, entails temporal consequences, the Popes cannot be held responsible, since it is impossible that the consequences of a true principle should be faults.

Those writers (the French particularly) have taken upon themselves great responsibility, who first broached the question whether the sovereign pontiffs possess the right to excommunicate sovereigns, and who dilate upon *the scandal of excommunications* generally. Wise men are best satisfied to leave certain questions in salutary obscurity; but if principles are attacked, wisdom itself is obliged to reply; but although imprudence has made it necessary, it is undoubtedly a great evil. The more men advance in the knowledge of things, the more they see the propriety of refraining from the discussion, especially in

writing about what it is impossible to define by laws ; and for this reason the principle alone can be decided, all the difficulty lying in its application, which cannot be expressed in any written formula.

Fenelon has said with laconic brevity, in a work which was not designed for publication, " The Church can excommunicate the prince, and the prince can put the pastor to death. Each ought to use this right only in the greatest extremity, but it is really a right." ^a

This is incontestably true ; but what is the *greatest extremity* ? It cannot be defined. We must, therefore, admit the principle, and withhold our judgment as to the rules of its application.

Complaint has justly been made of the exaggeration which would have the sacerdotal order withdrawn from all temporal jurisdiction ; we may with equally good reason complain of the contrary exaggeration, which pretends to withdraw the temporal power from all spiritual jurisdiction.

Generally speaking, injury is done to supreme authority by seeking to emancipate it from the various checks which have been established, less by the deliberate action of men, than by the imperceptible influence of customs and opinions ; for the people, deprived of their ancient guarantees, are thereby driven to seek others, stronger in appearance, but always infinitely dangerous, for this reason, that they are entirely founded on theories and reasonings *à priori*, by which men have been constantly led astray.

There is nothing so incorrect, as has been shown, as the words *temporal omnipotence*, employed to express that kind of power which the Popes claimed over other sovereigns. It was, on the contrary, the exercise of a power purely and eminently spiritual, in virtue of which they believed themselves entitled to strike with excommunication the princes who were guilty of certain crimes, without any usurpation of their authority, without any suspension

^a Hist. de Fénelon, tom. iii. pièces justif. du liv. vii. ; mémoire, No. viii. p. 479.

of their sovereignty, and without the least derogation from the dogma of its divine origin.

There remains not a doubt, therefore, as to the truth of the proposition, that the power attributed to the Popes cannot, without a signal abuse of language, be called *temporal omnipotence*. On this point, also, we may listen with advantage to Voltaire. He is much astonished, "at that power which could do everything abroad and so little at home; which bestowed kingdoms, and was embarrassed, suspended, defied at Rome, and obliged to bring into play all the machinery of politics in order to retain or recover a village." He invites us, not without reason, to observe, "that those Popes who wished to be too powerful and distribute kingdoms, were all persecuted at home."*

What, then, is that *temporal omnipotence, which has no temporal force*, which requires nothing *temporal* or *territorial* in foreign states, which anathematizes every attack on *temporal* power, and whose *temporal* power is so inconsiderable, that the burghers of Rome have often made light of it?

The truth, I believe, is only to be found in the contrary proposition, *that the power in question is purely spiritual*. To decide what are the precise limits of this power, is another question, which it is not here the place to inquire into. Let me prove only, as I have engaged to do, that the pretension to this power, whatever it may be, is by no means "*a madness*."

CHAPTER IX.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE PONTIFICAL POWER.

THE writers of the *last century* have pretty often had recourse to an expeditious method of judging institutions. They suppose an order of things purely ideal—good, as the

* Volt. Essai, &c. tom. ii. ch. lxxv.

suppose, and according to which they proceed, as upon certain data, to judge realities.

Voltaire provides us with an example in this style, and which, besides, is exceedingly comical. It is taken from his poem, "La Henriade," and has not, as far as I know, been remarked :

"It is amongst us an ancient and sacred custom, that when death extends to the throne its rude blows, and the stream of royal blood, so dear to the country, is to its last drop exhausted, the people at the same time recover possession of their first rights ; they may choose a master, they may change their laws. The assembled states, organs of France, name a sovereign, limit his power. Thus did the decrees of our august forefathers to the rank of Charlemagne exalt the Capets." ^a

The mountebank ! Where did he learn all these fine things ? In what book did he read *the rights of the people* ? or from what facts did he derive them ? One would suppose that dynasties change in France at stated periods, like the Olympic games. Two changes in 1300 years ! quite an *uninterrupted custom* this ! and it adds not a little to the piquancy of this jest of the poet-philosopher, that at neither the one nor the other period *was the stream of that blood, so dear to the country, to its last drop exhausted*. It was, on the contrary, in full circulation, when it was excluded by a great man, evidently matured beside the throne in order to ascend it. ^b

• C'est un usage antique et sacré parmi nous :
 Quand la mort sur le trône étend ses rudes coups,
 Et que du sang des rois, si chers à la patrie,
 Dans ses derniers canaux la source s'est tarie,
 Le peuple au même instant rentre en ses premiers droits ;
 Il peut choisir un maître, il peut changer ses lois.
 Les Etats assemblés, organes de la France,
 Nomment un souverain, limitent sa puissance.
 Ainsi de nos aïeux les augustes décrets
 Au rang de Charlemagne ont placé les Capets. (C. vii.)

^b It is proper we should hear how Voltaire reasons as an historian on this same event. "It is known," he says, "how Hugh Capet

Men reason in regard to the Popes, just as Voltaire reasons in his poem. It is either expressly or tacitly assumed as a fact, that the authority of the priesthood cannot in any way be united to that of the civil government; that, according to the economy of the Catholic Church, a sovereign cannot be excommunicated; that time induces no change in political constitutions; that everything must have proceeded in ancient times as in our own days, &c.; and with these fine maxims, taken for axioms, it is decided that the ancient Popes had gone out of their minds.

The plainest dictates of sound sense, however, point out a very different way of proceeding. Has not Voltaire himself said, "There are so many examples of the union of the priesthood with civil authority in other religions?"^a Now, it is not necessary, I should think, to prove that this union is infinitely more natural under the sway of a true religion, than under that of all other religions, which are necessarily false, since they are *other* than the true.

We must set out, moreover, from a principle that is both general and incontestable, namely, *that every government is good when it has been established, and has subsisted for a long time unquestioned.*

General laws, alone, are eternal. Everything else varies, and never does any one time resemble another. Man will, no doubt, always be governed, but never in the same way. Other manners, other knowledge, other opinions will necessarily occasion other laws. Names, also, lead astray on this head as on many others, because they are adapted to express the resemblances of contemporaneous things, and sometimes their differences; they not unfrequently represent also things which time has changed, whilst their desig-

robbed the last king's uncle of the crown. *If the votes had been free*, Charles would have been king of France. It was not a parliament of the nation which deprived him of the right of his ancestors, as so many historians have asserted; it was what makes and unmakes kings—force aided by prudence." (Volt. Essai, &c. tom. ii. ch. xxxix.) There is no mention here, as we see, of *august decrees*. He writes on the margin, "*Hugh Capet took possession of the kingdom by open force.*"

^a Volt. Essai, &c. tom. i. ch. xiii.

nations have remained the same. The word *monarchy*, for instance, may denote two governments, either contemporary or separated by time, more or less different under the same denomination; so that we cannot affirm in regard to the one, all that may be truly affirmed concerning the other.

“It is, therefore, quite a vain idea, an ungrateful task, to pretend to recall everything to ancient usages, and to endeavour to fix that wheel which time is ever moving by an irresistible impulse. To what period should we have recourse? . . . to what century, to what laws should we go back? to what customs should we look? A citizen of Rome would have as good grounds for asking of the Pope consuls, tribunes, a senate, popular assemblies, and the complete re-establishment of the Roman republic; and a burgher of Athens might claim from the Sultan the ancient areopagus and the assemblies of the people, which were called *churches*.”^a

Voltaire is quite right; but, as soon as there is question of judging the Popes, you will find him forgetting his own maxims, and speaking to us of Gregory VII. as we should speak to-day of Pius VII. if he undertook the same things.

Meanwhile, all possible forms of government have appeared in the world, and all are legitimate when once they are established; whilst it never can be permitted to reason according to hypotheses without any regard to facts. Now, if there be an indisputable fact, attested by all the monuments of history, it is, that the Popes in the middle age, and even long before that period, exercised great power over temporal sovereigns; that they judged them, excommunicated them on certain great occasions, and that not unfrequently they even declared the subjects of those princes loosed from their oath of fidelity towards them.

In speaking of *despotism* and *absolute government*, people seldom know what they are saying. No government has

^a Volt. Essai, &c. tom. iii. ch. lxxxvi. Which means that the assemblies of the people were called *assemblies*. All the philosophical and historical works of Voltaire are filled with traits of brilliant erudition.

the power to do whatever it pleases. By virtue of a divine law, there is always in close proximity to every government some kind of power which acts as a check upon it. Whether it be a law, a custom, conscience, a tiara, or a poniard,—there is always something.

Louis XIV. having taken leave to say, one day, in presence of some gentlemen of his court, “*That he knew not a more excellent government than that of the Sophi;*” one of them (it was the Marshal d’Estrées, if I mistake not) nobly and courageously replied: “But, sire, I have in my lifetime seen three of them strangled.”

Wo to princes if they could do everything! For their happiness and for ours, real *omnipotence* is impossible.

Now, the authority of the Popes was the power chosen and constituted in the middle ages for balancing temporal sovereignty and rendering it supportable to mankind. And this, besides, is nothing else than one of those general laws of the world which men will not observe, whilst, nevertheless, the evidences of them are incontestable.

Every nation of the universe has accorded to its priesthood more or less influence in political affairs; and it has been proved to demonstration, “that of all civilized nations, none have attributed less power and privileges to their priests, than the Jews and the Christians.”*

Never were barbarous nations matured and civilized otherwise than by religion; and in temporal things, sovereignty has always been the principal object of the care of religion.

“The interest of the human race requires a check which shall restrain sovereigns, and protect the lives of the people; the check of religion might have been by a common agreement in the hands of the Popes. The early pontiffs, by meddling with temporal quarrels, only in order to appease them, by reminding kings and people of their duties, by condemning their crimes, by reserving excommunications for great enormities, would always have been looked upon

* Hist. de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in 12mo. tom xv. p. 143.—Traité Historiq. et Dog. de la Religion, par l’Abbé Bergier, tom. vi. p. 120.

as the images of God upon the earth. But men are actually come to have nothing else for their defence than the laws and manners of each country,—laws that are often despised, and manners that are often corrupt.”^a

No man, I am persuaded, ever reasoned more to the purpose in favour of the Popes. The people of the middle ages had no other laws *within themselves*, than such as were null or despised, *and corrupt manners*. This indispensable restraint, therefore, it was necessary they should seek *from without*. It was found, and could only be found, in the authority of the Popes. There happened, therefore, nothing but what ought to have happened.

And what means this great reasoner when he tells us, conditionally, that *the check*, so necessary for the nations, MIGHT HAVE BEEN, *by a general agreement, in the hands of the Pope?* It was so in reality, not indeed by an expressed agreement of the people, which is impossible, but by a tacit and universal agreement, acknowledged by the princes even, as well as by their subjects, and which has produced incalculable blessings.

If the Popes, sometimes, did more or less than Voltaire desires, according to the passage quoted, it can only be said that nothing human is perfect, and that there exists not a power which never abused its strength. But if, as justice and sound reason require, those unavoidable anomalies are left out of view, it will be found *that the Popes have in reality restrained sovereigns, protected the people, put an end by their wise intervention to temporal quarrels, admonished kings and nations of their duties, and struck with anathema those great crimes they had not been able to prevent.*

We may now judge in what a ridiculous light Voltaire places himself when he gravely tells us in the same volume, and only at the distance of four chapters, “Those quarrels (of the empire and the priesthood) are the necessary consequence of the most absurd form of government to which men were ever subject. The absurdity consists in depending on *a stranger.*”^b

What admirable consistency, Monsieur Voltaire! You

^a Volt. Essai, &c. tom. ii. ch. lx.

^b Ibid. ch. lxx.

have, nevertheless, provided us, beforehand, with a refutation of yourself, by maintaining quite the contrary of what you here assert. Have you not said, "This *foreign* power was loudly demanded by the interest of the human race; the nations, deprived of a *foreign* protector, finding no other support among themselves than manners that were often corrupt, and laws that were often despised?"

Thus that same power, which at the sixtieth chapter is the most desirable and the most precious that can be imagined, becomes at the sixty-fifth, *the most absurd that was ever seen.*

Such is Voltaire; the most contemptible of writers considered only in a moral point of view, and, for that very reason, the best witness of the truth when he does homage to it by forgetting himself.

There is nothing more reasonable, nothing more plausible, than a moderate influence of the sovereign pontiffs over the acts of princes. The emperor of Germany, *although without a state*, was able to enjoy a legitimate jurisdiction over all the princes forming the Germanic confederation. Why should it not likewise be competent for the Pope to possess a certain jurisdiction over all the princes of Christendom? There is surely nothing in this contrary to the nature of things. If this power be not established—I say not that it ought to be so;—I solemnly protest that I maintained no such proposition,—but if it be established, it must be legitimate, as well as every other authority, for no power has any other foundation. The theory is, therefore, in favour of the Pope, and, moreover, all the facts are in accordance with it.

Voltaire, if it please him, may call the Pope *a foreigner*; it is his custom to be *superficial*. The Pope, in his capacity of temporal prince, is, no doubt, like all other temporal princes, *a foreigner* out of his own states; but as a sovereign pontiff, he is *a foreigner* nowhere in the Catholic Church, any more than the king of France is so at Lyons or at Bordeaux.

"There were moments very honourable for the court of Rome;" it is still Voltaire who speaks. "If the Popes

had always so used their authority, they would have been the legislators of Europe."^a

Now it is a fact, attested by the whole history of those remote times, that the Popes used their authority with wisdom and justice, sufficiently often to entitle them to be *the legislators of Europe*; and this is all we require.

It is to no purpose to urge abuses, for "notwithstanding many disturbances and many scandals, there was always in the rites of the Roman Church more decency, more gravity than elsewhere. Men understood, that that Church, WHEN IT WAS FREE and well-governed, was designed for the instruction of others,^b and, in the opinion of the nations, the bishop of Rome was a being of greater holiness than every other bishop."^c

But whence arose this universal opinion which made the Pope something more than a human being, whose purely spiritual power caused everything to bend before him? One must be absolutely blind not to see that the establishment of such a power was necessarily impossible or divine.

I shall not conclude this chapter without making an observation which, I do not think, has been sufficiently insisted upon; it is, that the greatest acts of authority which can be referred to on the part of the Popes in regard to temporal power were always levelled against an elective sovereignty, that is to say, a half-sovereignty, which no doubt could be called to account, and could even be deposed in the event of mal-administration to a certain degree.

Voltaire has justly remarked, that *election necessarily supposes* a contract between the king and the nation;^d so that the elective monarch may always be put on his trial and judged. He never possesses that sacred character which is the work of time; for man does not really respect anything that he himself has made. He does himself justice by despising his own works till God has sanctioned

^a Volt. Essai, &c. tom. ii. ch. lx.

^b Volt. *ibid.* ch. xlv.

^c The same, *ibid.* tom. iii. ch. cxxi.

^d The same, *ibid.*

them by time. Sovereignty, therefore, generally speaking, being very ill understood and equally ill secured in the middle ages, elective sovereignty in particular had scarcely any other consistency than what it derived from the personal qualities of the sovereign; we need not, therefore, be astonished that it was so often attacked, transferred, or overthrown. The ambassadors of St. Louis said candidly to the Emperor, Frederick II., in 1259, "We hold that the king of France, our master, who owes the sceptre of the French only to his birth, is above any emperor whatever whom a free election ALONE has raised to the throne." ^a

This profession of faith was quite reasonable. We must not then be surprised when we behold the Emperors at variance with the Popes and the Electors; the latter made use of their right, and dismissed the Emperors, simply *because they were not satisfied with them*. So late as the commencement of the fifteenth century, do we not still find the Emperor Wenceslaus legally deposed, as *negligent, useless, prodigal, and unworthy?* ^b And even without taking into account the right of election, which, as I have just observed, gives more hold over sovereignty, it had not yet been discussed whether the sovereign could be judged on any ground whatever. The same century beheld solemnly deposed, besides the Emperor Wenceslaus, two kings of England—Edward II. and Richard II.—and Pope John XXIII., all four having been judged and condemned with all the judicial formalities; and the Regent of Hungary was condemned to death. ^c

No sovereign power whatever can withdraw itself from a certain degree of resistance. This repressing power may

^a Credimus dominum nostrum regem Gallie, quem linea regii sanguinis provexit ad scepra Francorum regenda, excellentiorem esse aliquo imperatore quem sola electio provehit voluntaria.—Maimbourg, ad ann. 1239.

^b Such epithets were weak for the murderer of St. John Nepomucene; but, if the Pope had possessed at that time the power to alarm Wenceslaus, this prince would have died upon his throne and with less guilt upon his conscience.

^c Voltaire has made this observation (*Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.* tom. ii. ch. lxvi. and lxxxv.)

change its name, its attributes, its position, but it will always exist.

But, should this resistance cause blood to be shed, the inconvenience thus attending it is like to that arising from inundations and conflagrations, which by no means prove that water and fire ought to be suppressed.

Has it been remarked that the shock of those two powers, so inappropriately called the war of the *Empire and the Priesthood*, never passed the confines of Italy and Germany, as far at least as regarded its great results—the overthrow and the change of sovereignties? Several princes, no doubt, were excommunicated in those days; but what were in reality the consequences of such signal judgments? The sovereign listened to reason, or appeared to do so; he refrained, for the moment, from a criminal war; for form's sake he dismissed his mistress, who, nevertheless, sometimes regained her position. Friendly powers, influential and moderate personages, interposed; and the Pope, in his turn, if he had been either too severe or too hasty, listened to the remonstrances of wisdom. What kings of France, of Spain, of England, of Sweden, of Denmark, were *really* deposed by the Popes? It will be found that there were only menaces and treaties; and it would not be difficult to cite examples of Sovereign Pontiffs who were duped through their facility. The real struggle always took place in Italy and Germany. Why? Because political circumstances did everything, whilst religion had no part in such transactions. All the dissensions, all the evils of those times originated in an ill-constituted sovereignty, and the ignorance of every principle. The elective prince always enjoys as a temporary possessor. He has no thought but for himself, because the state only belongs to him by the enjoyments of the moment. He is almost always a stranger to the true spirit of royalty, and the sacred character *painted*, and not *engraved*, on his forehead scarcely resists the least friction. Frederick II. caused it to be decided by his lawyers, presided over by the celebrated Barthole, that he (Frederick) had succeeded to all the rights of the Roman emperors, and that in this capacity he was master of the whole known world. Italy

found not its account in this ; and the Pope, even though considered only as first elector, had surely some right to interfere with this extraordinary legal doctrine. It is not the question, besides, whether the Popes were men, or whether they were ever mistaken ; but whether there has been, with all due allowances, on the throne which they have filled, more wisdom, more science, and more virtue than on any other. Now on this point not so much as a doubt can be permitted.

CHAPTER X.

EXERCISE OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACY OVER TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

BARBARISM and interminable wars having effaced every principle, reduced the sovereignty of Europe to a state of fluctuation quite unparalleled, and made deserts everywhere, it was advantageous that a superior power should exercise a certain influence over this sovereignty. Now, as the Popes were superior by wisdom and knowledge, and as they had at their command, moreover, all the science of those times, the very force of things gave them an undisputed title to that superiority which at the time was indispensable. The true principle, *that sovereignty comes from God*, strengthened besides those ancient ideas, and there came to be formed an opinion, almost universal, which attributed to the Popes a certain jurisdiction over questions in which sovereigns were concerned. This opinion was quite sound, and certainly far better than all our sophistry. The Popes did not at all interfere so as to embarrass wise princes in the exercise of their functions ; still less did they disturb the order of the succession of sovereigns, so long as things were conducted according to the ordinary and known rules ; it was only when there was great abuse, great criminality, or much doubt, that the Sovereign Pontiff interposed. Now, how do we, who look upon our forefathers with pity, contrive to settle matters on such occasions ? By rebellion,

by civil wars, and all the evils they produce. In reality we have little to boast of. If the Pope had decided between Henry IV. and the League, he would have adjudged the kingdom of France to that great prince, *enjoining he should go to mass*; ^a he would have judged as Providence has judged, only the preliminaries would have been a little different.

If France, to-day yielding to a Divine authority, had received its excellent king at the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, can we suppose that it would not be at this moment a little more satisfied with itself and with other nations? ^b

The good sense of the ages we call *barbarous* knew much more than our pride commonly believes. It is not astonishing that young nations, guided in a manner by instinct alone, should have adopted ideas so simple and so reasonable; and it is highly important to observe how those same opinions, which influenced of old, barbarian nations, have in these later times carried the assent of three such men as Bellarmin, Hobbes, and Leibnitz. ^c

“*And it matters little here whether the Pope held this primacy by Divine or by human right*, provided it be clear that during several ages he exercised throughout the West, with universal consent and approbation, a power assuredly most extensive. There are, even among Protestants, several celebrated men who believed that this right might be left with the Pope, and that it was useful to the Church if certain abuses were retrenched.” ^d

^a *A la charge par lui d'aller à la Messe.*

^b Written soon after the restoration of the Bourbons by the allied powers. It must be acknowledged, that this was a somewhat humbling event for the “*peuple Français, peuple de braves.*” Very different, surely, from the award of a high spiritual power, universally recognized as the common arbiter of the civilized world.

^c “*The arguments of Bellarmin, who from the supposition that the Popes have jurisdiction in spiritual things, infers that they have, at least, an indirect jurisdiction in temporal things, have not appeared contemptible even to Hobbes. Indeed, it is certain,*” &c.—Leibnitz, *Op. tom. iv. part iii. p. 401, in 4to.* *Pensées de Leibnitz, in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 406.*

^d *Pensées de Leibnitz, in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 401.*

The theory alone, therefore, would be immoveable. But what can be said against facts, which are everything in questions of politics and government?

None doubted—sovereigns themselves did not doubt this power of the Popes; and Leibnitz observes, with much truth and delicacy, as is his custom, that the Emperor Frederick, in saying to Pope Alexander III. “*Not to you, but to Peter,*” confessed the power of the Pontiffs over kings, and only contested its abuse.*

This observation may be generalized. Princes, struck by the anathema of the Pope, disputed only its justice, so that they were constantly ready to make use of it against their enemies, which they could not do without obviously acknowledging the legitimacy of the power.

Voltaire, after having related in his own fashion the excommunication of Robert of France, remarks, “*that the Emperor Otho III. was himself present at the council in which the sentence of excommunication was pronounced.*”^b

The Emperor, therefore, acknowledged the authority of the Pope; and it is a very singular thing that modern critics will not see the manifest contradiction into which they fall, in observing, as they all do with admirable unanimity, “that what was most deplorable in those great judgments was the blindness of the princes, who disputed not their legitimacy, and who themselves often begged to have recourse to them.”

But if the princes were agreed, the rest of mankind were so likewise, and there is no longer question but as to abuses, which exist everywhere.

Philip Augustus, to whom the Pope had transferred the kingdom of England as a perpetual inheritance, . . . did not on that occasion proclaim “*that it belonged not to the Pope to give crowns.* He himself had been excommunicated a few years previously, because he had desired to change his wife. He at that time pronounced the censures of Rome insolent and abusive. . . . He thought quite

* Leibnitz, Op. tom. iv. part iii. p. 401.

^b Voltaire, Essai, &c. tom. ii. ch. xxxix.

otherwise when he beheld himself the executor of a bull which bestowed upon him the throne of England.”^a

Thus was the authority of the Popes contested only by those against whom it was levelled. There was never, therefore, a more legitimate power, as there never was a power so little contested.

The Diet of Forcheim having deposed, in 1077, the Emperor Henry IV., and appointed in his place Rhodolph, Duke of Suabia, the Pope convoked a council at Rome, to decide on the pretensions of the two rivals. These princes swore, through their ambassadors, to hold themselves bound by the decision of the legates,^b and the election of Rhodolph was confirmed. Then appeared on the diadem of Rhodolph the celebrated words—

“The Rock chose *Peter*, and *Peter* Rhodolph chose.”^c

Henry V., after his coronation as king of Italy, concludes, in 1110, a treaty with the Pope, by which the Emperor abandons his pretensions to the right of investiture, “on condition that the Pope should cede to him the duchies, the counties, the marquisates, the lands, the administration of justice, the coining of money, and other privileges of which the bishops of Germany were in possession.”

In 1109, Otho of Saxony having, contrary to the most sacred laws of justice, and in the face of his own most solemn engagements, attacked the lands of the Holy See, was excommunicated. The king of France and all Germany resolve to oppose him; he is deposed in 1211 by the Electors, who name in his place Frederick II.

And this same Frederick II. having been deposed in 1228, St. Louis causes it to be represented to the Pope, “that if the emperor had really deserved to be deposed, he ought only to have been so by a general council,” that is, in reality, by the Pope better informed.^d

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tom. ii. ch. i.

^b Maimbourg, ad ann. 1077.

^c “*Petra* (i. e. *Jesus Christ*) *dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rhodolpho.*”

^d We find already, in the representation of this great prince,

In 1245, Frederick II. is excommunicated and deposed, in the general council of Lyons.

In 1335, the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, excommunicated by the Pope, sends ambassadors to Rome to solicit his absolution. They returned thither, for the same purpose, in 1338, accompanied by the envoys of the king of France.

In 1346, the Pope excommunicates anew Louis of Bavaria, *and, in concert with the king of France, names Charles of Moravia, &c.*^a

Voltaire has written a long chapter to prove that the Popes bestowed all the kingdoms of Europe with the consent of the kings and the people. He quotes a king of Denmark saying to the Pope, in 1329, "The kingdom of Denmark, as you know, Most Holy Father, depends only on the Roman Church, to which it pays tribute, and not to the Empire."^b

Voltaire continues these same details in the following chapter, and then, with astonishing depth of reasoning, writes in the margin, "Great proof that the Popes gave away kingdoms."

For once I am quite of his opinion. *The Popes gave away all kingdoms, therefore they gave away all kingdoms.* This is undoubtedly one of the finest reasonings of Voltaire.^c

He also makes mention elsewhere of the powerful Charles V. asking from the Pope a dispensation to add the title of *King of Naples* to that of Emperor.^d

the spirit of opposition which was developed in France earlier than elsewhere. Philip the Fair appealed in like manner, from a decree of Boniface VIII. to a general council; but in their appeals, even, those princes acknowledged *that the Universal Church, as Leibnitz says (ubi supra), had received some authority over their persons, authority which was then, they alleged, abused in their regard.*

^a All these facts are universally known. They may be verified at the dates to which they belong, in the well-executed work of Maimbourg, *Histoire de la Décadence de l'Empire, &c.*, in Muratori's *Annals of Italy*, and generally in all the historical works relating to the time in question.

^b Volt. *Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.* tom. iii. ch. lxiii.

^c *Ibid.* ch. lxiv.

^d *Ibid.* ch. cxxiii.

The divine origin of sovereignty, and the individual legitimacy conferred and declared by the Vicar of Jesus Christ, were ideas so deeply rooted in all minds, that Livo, king of Lesser Armenia, sent to do homage to the Emperor and the Pope in 1242; and he was crowned at Mayence by the archbishop of that city.^a

At the commencement of that same century, Joannice, king of the Bulgarians, submits to the Roman Church, and sends ambassadors to Innocent III. to profess to him filial obedience, and ask of him the royal crown, *as his predecessors had of old received it from the Holy See.*^b

In 1275, Demetrius, driven from the throne of Russia, appealed to the Pope as to the judge of all Christians.^c

And, to conclude with something still more striking, let it be remembered, that, so late as in the sixteenth century, Henry VII., king of England, although tolerably well aware of his rights, requested, nevertheless, the confirmation of his title of Pope Innocent VII., who granted it to him by a bull, which Bacon has quoted.^d

There is nothing so piquant as to find the Popes justified by their accusers, who have no suspicion of what they have done. Listen again to Voltaire: "Every prince," says he, "who wished to usurp or recover a domain, applied to the Pope, as to his master. . . . No new prince dared to style himself sovereign, and could not be recognized as such by the other princes, without the permission of the Pope; and the ground of the whole history of the middle ages is always that the Popes believe themselves lords paramount of all the states, without a single exception."^e

I desire no more; the legitimacy of the power in question is demonstrated. The author of "The Letters on History," more zealous, perhaps, against the Popes than Voltaire even, all whose hatred was, so to speak, superficial, found himself

^a Maimbourg, *Histoire de la Décadence*, &c. an 1242.

^b *Id.* *Hist. du Schisme des Grecs*, tom. ii. liv. iv. an 1201.

^c *Volt. Ann. de l'Empire*, tom. i. p. 178.

^d Bacon, *Hist. of Henry VII.* p. 29 of the French translation.

^e Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tom. iii. ch. lxiv.

driven to the same result, that of completely justifying the Popes, whilst he thought he was accusing them.

“Unfortunately,” says he, “almost all the sovereigns themselves, by an inconceivable blindness, laboured to establish in public opinion an authority which had not, and which could not have, any strength, but by that opinion. When it attacked one of their rivals and enemies, not only did they approve it; they sometimes even promoted excommunication; and in charging themselves with the execution of the sentence which stripped a sovereign of his states, they subjected their own to this usurped jurisdiction.”^a

He cites, moreover, a signal instance of the exercise of this public right, and in attacking it, he completes its justification. “It appeared,” says he, “reserved for that fatal league (of Cambrai) to concentrate in itself every vice. The right of excommunication in things temporal was there recognized by two sovereigns, and it was stipulated that Julius should issue an interdict against Venice, if it did not within forty days yield up its usurpations.”^b

“Behold here,” Montesquieu would say, “the SPUNGE which must be applied to all the objections that are urged against the ancient excommunications.” How blind is not prejudice, even in the most penetrating minds! This is the first time, perhaps, that the universality of a custom is brought as an argument against its legitimacy. And what is there men can rely upon for certain, if custom, especially when never contradicted, is not held to be the parent of legitimacy? It is the worst of all sophistry to transfer a modern system to bygone times, and to judge by this rule the affairs and the men of those more or less remote periods. With such a principle, the universe itself would be upset, for there is no established institution that might not be overthrown by the same means, judging it by an abstract theory. Once it is found that both people and kings are agreed as to the authority of the Popes, all modern reasonings fall to the ground, and the more so that the most certain theory comes to the support of ancient usages.

^a Lettres sur l'Histoire, tom. ii. lettre xli. p. 413, in 8vo.

^b Ibid. tom. iii. lettre lxii. p. 233.

In considering, philosophically, the power formerly exercised by the Popes, the inquiry may possibly be made, why it was so late in being developed throughout the world? There are two answers to this question.

In the first place, the pontifical power, by reason of its character and importance, was, more than any other, subject to the universal law of development. Now, if we reflect that it was destined to last as long as religion itself, we shall not find that its maturity was unduly retarded. Plants are a natural resemblance of legitimate powers. Consider the tree; the time of its growth is always in proportion to its strength and the entire period of its duration. Every power, at once constituted in all the fulness of its vigour and its attributes, is, by such constitution, false, ephemeral, and ridiculous. As well might we imagine a man, adult-born.

In the second place, it was necessary that the bursting forth, if it may be so expressed, of the pontifical power should be coeval with the youth of European sovereignties, which it was destined to *christianize*.

To recapitulate. No sovereignty is, in the full sense of the term, unlimited, nor is it possible even that any sovereignty should be so. At all times, and in every place, it has been by some means restrained.* The most natural and the least dangerous mode of restraining it, especially in new and ferocious nations, was, undoubtedly, a certain intervention of the spiritual power. The hypo-

* Which ought to be understood according to the explanation I have already given (liv. ii. ch. iii.) ; that there is no sovereignty which, for the happiness of men, and particularly for its own, is not in some way limited ; but that within the circle of its limits, fixed as God may please, it is always and everywhere absolute, and held to be infallible ; and when I speak of the legitimate exercise of sovereignty, I neither understand nor express its *just* exercise, which would occasion a dangerous amphibology, unless that by this last word should be understood that everything it does within its circle is just, or held to be so ; which it really must be. This is a supreme tribunal, so long as it does not go beyond what properly appertains to it, always just ; for it is the same thing, *in practice*, to be infallible, or to err without appeal.

thesis of all Christian sovereignties united by religious fraternity, and forming, as it were, an universal republic, under the measured supremacy of the supreme spiritual power, was by no means calculated to shock men's ideas, and might even have presented itself to the mind as an institution superior to the Amphictyonic council. I cannot see that modern times have imagined anything better, or even anything so good. Who knows what would have happened, if the theocracy, human policy, and science, had remained in a state of undisturbed equilibrium, as always happens when elements are left to themselves, and time is allowed to do its work? In this order of things, the most terrible calamities the world has experienced, the wars of religion, the French Revolution, &c., would not have been possible; and with such development as the pontifical power has been able to attain, and notwithstanding the fearful alloy of error, vice, and passion which have spread desolation among the human race at certain melancholy epochs, it has not the less rendered the most important services to humanity.

The host of writers who have not perceived these truths in history no doubt understood how to write,—they have shown it only too well, but it is equally certain they never knew how to read.

CHAPTER XI.

HYPOTHETICAL APPLICATION OF THE PRECEDING PRINCIPLES.

*The most humble and most respectful remonstrances of the States General of the Kingdom of * * *, assembled at * * *, to our Holy Father Pope Pius VII.*

“ MOST HOLY FATHER,

“ Plunged in the deepest affliction and the most cruel anxiety that faithful subjects can experience, and obliged to choose between the absolute loss of a nation and the last measures of severity against an august head, the States

General cannot imagine any better course than to throw themselves on the paternal care of your Holiness, and invoke your supreme justice to save, if it can yet be saved, an empire that has been made desolate.

“The sovereign who governs us, most Holy Father, reigns only for our ruin. We contest not his virtues, but they are of no avail to us, and his errors are such, that if your Holiness does not extend to us your protection, there is no longer any hope of safety.

“From a species of mental excitement, quite unequalled, this prince imagines that we are living in the sixteenth century, and that he himself is Gustavus Adolphus. Your Holiness may easily have made known to you the acts of the Germanic Diet; you will there see that our sovereign, in his capacity of member of that body, has caused to be remitted to the Directory several notes, which evidently proceed from the two suppositions we have just indicated, and by the consequences of which we are crushed. Animated by an unfortunate military enthusiasm, quite apart from talent, he desires to make war; he will not have it carried on in his name, and he knows not how to carry it on himself. He compromises his troops, disgraces them, and then avenges on his officers the reverses of which he himself is the author. Against all the rules of the most ordinary prudence, he persists in maintaining war, in spite of his nation, against two colossal powers, one of which alone would suffice to annihilate us ten times over. Addicted to the chimeras of illuminism, he studies politics in the Apocalypse; and he is come to believe that he is designated in this book as the extraordinary personage destined to overthrow the giant who is now shaking all the thrones of Europe. The name which distinguishes him among kings, is less flattering to his ear than that which he accepted in affiliating himself to the secret societies of the day; this last name is that which he affixes to his acts, and the arms of his august family have given way to the burlesque escutcheon of *the Brethren*. As unreasonable in the management of his domestic affairs as in his public counsels, he is now repudiating an irreproachable consort,

for reasons which our deputies have instructions to explain verbally to your Holiness. If you do not put a stop to this project by a salutary decree, we doubt not but some unsuitable and capricious choice will ere long occur to justify still more our having recourse to your Holiness. Finally, most Holy Father, there is the most incontrovertible evidence to convince you that the nation, being irrevocably alienated from the dynasty which rules over us, this family, proscribed by general opinion, ought to be removed, for the sake of public safety, which takes precedence of everything.

“ Nevertheless, most Holy Father, God forbid that we should think of appealing to our own judgment, and of deciding for ourselves on this great occasion ! We know that kings have no temporal judges, particularly among their own subjects, and that royal majesty holds only of God. To you, therefore, most Holy Father, as to the representative on earth of the Son of God, we address our petition, praying that you would deign to relieve us from the oath of fidelity which binds us to the royal family that now governs our country, and transfer to another family rights, the actual possessor of which can only enjoy for his own misery and for ours.”

What would be the results of this recourse to the high spiritual power ? The Pope would promise in the first place to take the matter into his most serious consideration, and to weigh the grievances of the nation in the balance of the most scrupulous justice ; this would have sufficed at once to calm every mind ; for man is so constituted, that whilst the denial of justice irritates him, the impossibility of obtaining it drives him to despair. The moment he can rely upon being heard by a legitimate tribunal, he becomes tranquil.

The Pope would then send to the country in question a man enjoying his fullest confidence, and qualified, moreover, to treat such great interests. This envoy would interpose between the people and their sovereign. He would point out to the former the falsity or the exaggeration of their complaints, the incontestable merits of the prince,

and the means of avoiding an immense political scandal ; to the latter he would show the dangers of inflexibility, the necessity of treating certain prejudices with respect, and, above all, the inutility of appeals to right and justice when once blind force is let loose—in a word, he would forget nothing in order to prevent the parties from proceeding to extremities.

But let us take things at the worst, and suppose that the Sovereign Pontiff has thought it his duty to absolve the subjects from their oath of allegiance ; thus, at least, will all violent measures be averted. In sacrificing the king he will save royalty ; he will not neglect any of the personal alleviations which the circumstances of the case permit, but especially, and this perhaps merits some slight attention, he would thunder against the project of deposing a whole dynasty, even on account of the *crimes*, and *à fortiori* on account of the faults, of one man. He would instruct the people “that the family reigns—that the case which has just occurred is like that of an ordinary succession laid open by death or illness, and he would conclude by saying anathema to every man who should be bold enough to call in question the rights of the reigning house.”

Thus would the Pope have acted, supposing the enlightenment of our time joined to the public law of the twelfth century.

Does any one believe that it was not possible to do worse ?

How blind we are for the most part ! And if I may be allowed to say so, how much have not princes particularly been deceived by appearances ? We are vaguely told of the *excesses* of Gregory VII. and the superiority of modern times ; but what right have the days of rebellion to laugh at those of dispensations ? The Pope no longer absolves from the oath of fidelity, but the people absolve themselves, —they rebel, they depose their princes, they poniard them, they send them to the scaffold. They do worse still. Yes, I retract not—they do worse ; they say to them, “You are no longer wanted,—begone !” They proclaim loudly the original sovereignty of the people, and their inherent right

to do themselves justice. A rage for constitutions, if I may speak so strongly, has taken possession of all minds, and none can tell what it will yet produce. Deprived of a common centre, they differ in the most alarming manner, agreeing only on one point—that of limiting sovereignties. What, then, have sovereigns gained by that so much boasted enlightenment which is all directed against themselves? I prefer the Pope.

It remains for us to inquire whether the pretension to power we are examining “has inundated Europe with blood and fanaticism.”

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE WARS ALLEGED TO HAVE ARISEN FROM THE SHOCK OF THE TWO POWERS.

THE commencement of these wars dates from the year 1076. At that time the Emperor Henry IV., summoned to Rome on account of simony, sent ambassadors, whom the Pope refused to receive. The emperor, highly indignant, assembles a council at Worms, and causes the Pope to be deposed; the latter, in his turn (it was the celebrated Gregory VII.), deposes the emperor, and looses his subjects from their oath of fidelity.* And, notwithstanding the submission of Henry, Gregory, who had confined himself entirely to absolving from the oath of allegiance, gives commission to the princes of Germany to elect another emperor, if they are not satisfied with Henry. The princes call to the throne Rhodolph of Suabia, and from this proceeding arises a war between the two competitors. Soon after, Gregory requires the electors to hold another assembly, in order to put an end to their differences, and he excommunicates all who should throw any obstacle in the way of this assembly.

The partisans of Henry deposed the Pope anew at the

* Muratori, *Ann. d' Italia*, tom. iv. 4to. p. 246; and *ibid.* p. 245.

Council of Brescia, in 1080.^a But Rhodolph having been defeated and slain the same year, hostilities came to an end.

If it be inquired who had constituted the electors, Voltaire is at hand to reply, "that the electors had instituted themselves, and that it is in this way all orders are established, laws and time accomplishing the rest;"^b and he adds, with equally good reason, that the princes who possessed the right of electing the emperor appear to have enjoyed also that of deposing him.^c

There can be no doubt of the truth of this proposition. The modern electors, merely titulars without authority, who name for the sake of form a prince in reality hereditary, must not be confounded with the ancient electors, truly *electors* in the full sense of the term, who undoubtedly possessed the right to demand of their creature an account of his political conduct. How, besides, can we imagine a German elective prince ruling over Italy without being elected by Italy? For my part, I cannot imagine anything so monstrous. And, if the force of circumstances had naturally concentrated in the person of the Pope, both as first prince of Italy and chief of the Catholic Church, what could there have been more fitting than such a state of things? The Pope, besides, in all the affairs we have considered, interfered not with the public right of the empire; he gave orders to the electors to deliberate and elect, he instructed them to adopt measures calculated to put an end to all differences. This is all he ought to have done. The words *make* and *unmake* emperors are easily pronounced. But there is nothing less correct, the excommunicated prince having always had it in his power to be reconciled. So that, if he obstinately persisted, the *unmaking* was his own work; and if by any chance the Pope had acted unjustly, the only result was that *in this case* he had made

^a We often hear it asked if the Popes had a right to depose the emperors; but *whether the emperors had a right to depose the Popes* is a trifling question, about which little trouble is taken.

^b Volt. *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c. tom. iv. chap. cxcv.

^c *Ibid.* tom. iii. ch. xlv.

an unjust use of a just authority, an evil to which all human authority is necessarily liable. In the event of the electors not being able to agree, and of their committing the signal folly of naming two emperors, they at the same moment inflicted war upon themselves; and, war once declared, what was it still possible for the Popes to do? As coronation was considered indispensable, and as it was asked either by the two competitors or by the newly elected emperor, neutrality was out of the question. It was the duty of the Popes, therefore, to declare for the party on whose side they saw justice. At the period we are treating of, a great number of princes and bishops (who were also princes), as well of Germany as of Italy, *declared against Henry, in order that they might get rid at length of a king born only to render his people miserable.*^a

In the year 1078, the Pope sent legates into Germany, to inquire who were in the right, and two years later he sent again, to put an end, if it were possible, to the war; but there were no means of calming the tempest, and three sanguinary battles marked that year, so fraught with misfortune to Germany.

It is a strange abuse of terms to call this struggle *a war between the Priesthood and the Empire*. It was a schism in the Empire—a war between two rival princes, one of whom was favoured with the approval and sometimes with the forced concurrence of the Sovereign Pontiff. A war is always understood to be waged between two principal parties

^a Passarono a liberar se stessi da un principe nato solamente per rendere infelici i suoi sudditi.—Muratori, *ibid.* p. 248. All history informs us what Henry was as a prince; his son and his wife have told us what he was at home. What a scene was that of the wretched Praxedes dragged from her prison by the care of the wise Matilda, and driven by despair to confess, in the midst of a council, abominable deeds! Never does Providence permit the genius of evil to let loose one of those ferocious animals without opposing to him the invincible genius of some great man; and such was Gregory VII. The writers of our time hold a different opinion; they cease not to tell us of the *impetuous, the pitiless* Gregory. Henry, on the contrary, enjoys all their favour; he is always the *unfortunate* Henry. They have no mercy but for crime.

pursuing exclusively the same object. All who may be hurried along with the whirlwind are not responsible for anything. Whoever thought of reproaching Holland or Portugal with the War of Succession?

The quarrels of Frederick with Pope Adrian IV. are well known. After the death of this excellent pontiff^a in 1159, the emperor caused an anti-pope to be named, and lent all his power to support him, with an obstinacy which inflicted cruel wounds upon the Church. He even assumed the right to hold a council, and to summon the Pope to Pavia, in order to dispose of him as he should think proper, and dispensing with the formality of using complimentary language, he merely addressed the Pontiff in his letter by his family name of *Rolland*. The latter took care not to obey an invitation equally dangerous and indecent. On his refusal, some bishops, led astray, paid, or coerced by the emperor, ventured to acknowledge Octavian (or Victor) as legitimate Pope, and to depose Alexander III., having first excommunicated him. Then it was that the Pope himself, driven to the last extremities, excommunicated the emperor, and declared his subjects loosed from their oath of fidelity.^b This schism lasted seventeen years, till the time of Frederick's absolution, which was accorded at the celebrated interview of Venice in 1177.

It is well known that the Pope had much to suffer in the course of this long interval, both from the violence of Frederick and from the machinations of the anti-pope. The

^a Lasciò dopo di se gran lode di pietà, di prudenza e di zelo, molte opere della sua pia e principessa liberalità.—Muratori, Ann. d' Italia, tom. iv. p. 538, ann. 1159.

^b Such is the truth. Would you now learn what they ventured to write in France? Open the chronological tables of the Abbé Lenglet-Dufresnoy, you will find at the date 1159, "The Pope (Adrian IV.) not having been able to induce the Milanese to revolt against the emperor, excommunicated that prince."

And the emperor was excommunicated the following year, 1160, at the mass of Holy Thursday, by the successor of Adrian IV., the latter having died the 1st September, 1159; and we have seen why Frederick was excommunicated, but behold what is related, and behold what is unfortunately believed.

emperor carried his resentment so far as to desire to have the ambassadors of the Pope hanged at Crema, whither they had gone to wait upon him. There is no telling what would have actually happened but for the intervention of the two princes, Guelf and Henry de Leon. Meanwhile, Italy was on fire—the prey of factions. Every town had become a focus of opposition against the insatiable ambition of the emperors. No doubt their great efforts were not sufficiently disinterested to deserve success; but who would not be indignant at the intolerable ignorance which presumes to say they had *rebelled*? Who would not deplore the fate of Milan? What it is of importance to observe here is, that the Popes were not the cause of those disastrous wars; that they were, on the contrary, almost always their victims; as for instance, on this occasion, supposing it had been their desire to wage war, it was not in their power to do so, since, independently of the immense inferiority of their forces, their lands were almost always seized upon, and they never enjoyed undisturbed possession at home, not even at Rome, where the republican spirit was as strong as anywhere else, but without equally plausible grounds on which it could claim to be excused. Alexander III., of whom there is question here, finding nowhere in Italy a secure asylum, was obliged at last to retire into France, *the ordinary refuge of persecuted Popes*.^a He had resisted the emperor, and acted justly, according to his conscience. He had not enkindled the war; he had not carried it on; he could not have carried it on; he was its victim.^b Behold,

^a Murat. *ibid.* tom. vi. p. 549, ann. 1661. It is remarkable that during the eclipse which the glory of France has just experienced, the oppressors of the nation made it act a part precisely the reverse of what it had been accustomed to. They went in search of the Pontiff in order to cut him off. We may be allowed to believe that the chastisement to which France is condemned at present is the penalty of the crime which was committed in her name. Never will she resume her place, without resuming also *her functions*. (The above note was written in August, 1817.) In reading it to-day (December, 1849), who does not think of the restoration of the Pope's government by a French army?

^b In the chronology I recently quoted, we read at the date

then, yet another period wholly withdrawn from "*that sanguinary struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire.*"

In the year 1198, there was a new schism in the empire. The electors being divided, one party elected Philip of Suabia, and the other Otho of Saxony. This led to a ten years' war. Meanwhile, Innocent III., who had declared for Otho, availed himself of the state of matters to repossess himself of Romagna, the duchy of Spoleto, and the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, which the emperors had unjustly given in fief to some petty princes. In all this there was not a shadow of spirituality or of ecclesiastical power. The Pope acted like a good prince, according to the rules of policy as generally understood. Absolutely obliged to come to a decision, was it his duty to protect the posterity of Barberossa against the no less well-founded pretensions of a prince belonging to a house which had deserved well of the Holy See, and suffered much in its cause? Was he bound to let himself be despoiled without resistance, *to avoid a little noise?* In truth, these unfortunate pontiffs are required to be singularly apathetic!

In 1210, Otho IV., in contempt of every law of prudence, and contrary to his oaths, usurped the territories of the Pope and those of the king of Sicily, the ally and vassal of the Holy See. Pope Innocent III. excommunicated him, and deprived him of the empire. Frederick was elected. Then occurred what always occurred,—princes and people were divided. Otho continued to carry on against Frederick, emperor, the war commenced against this same Frederick as king of Sicily. There was no change; they fought, but all the blame lay with Otho, whose injustice and ingratitude cannot be excused. This he himself ac-

1167: "The Emperor Frederick defeats more than 12,000 Romans, and takes possession of Rome; Pope Alexander is obliged to take to flight." Who would not think that the Pope was waging war upon the emperor, whilst in reality the Romans were carrying it on in opposition to the wishes of the Pope, who could not hinder it? "Ancorche si opponesse a tal risoluzione il prudentissimo Papa Alessandro III.—Murat. ad Ann. tom. iv. p. 575. For three centuries back, history appears to be nothing better than a great conspiracy against truth.

knowledged, when, at the point of death, in 1218, he asked and obtained absolution with the best feelings of piety and repentance.

His successor, Frederick II., had engaged by oath, and *under pain of excommunication*, to carry his arms into Palestine.^a But, instead of fulfilling his engagement, he thought only of increasing his treasure, even at the expense of the Church, in order to oppress the Lombards. He was at length excommunicated in 1227 and 1228. Frederick had gone at last to the Holy Land, and in the meantime the Pope took possession of a part of Apulia,^b but in a short time the emperor reappeared, and repossessed himself of all that had been taken from him. Gregory IX., who had, with good reason, assigned to the crusades the first rank among political and religious affairs, and who was exceedingly displeased with the emperor on account of the truce he had concluded with the sultan, excommunicated this prince anew. The latter was reconciled in 1230, but nevertheless continued the war, and carried it on with unheard of cruelty.^c

He acted with such barbarity towards priests and churches, that the Pope once more excommunicated him. It would be superfluous to call to mind here the accusation of impiety, and the famous book of "the three impostors;" these are matters of general notoriety. Gregory IX., I am aware, has been accused of giving way to anger, and of having been too precipitate in his conduct towards Frederick. Muratori has spoken in one way, and Rome in another; but this discussion, which would require much time and pains, is foreign to a work in which there is, by no means, question of inquiring whether the Popes were ever to blame. Let it be supposed, if they will, that

^a Murat. *ibid.* tom. vii. p. 175, ann. 1223.

^b But only to confer it on John de Brienne, father-in-law of this same Frederick,—a fact that ought to be remarked. In general, the spirit of usurpation was always foreign to the Popes; this has not been sufficiently observed.

^c He was seen, for instance, rending in four the heads of prisoners of war, or burning them on the forehead with an iron cut in the form of a cross.

Gregory IX. showed himself too inflexible ; what shall we say of Innocent, who, before his accession to the Holy See, had been the friend of Frederick, and who omitted nothing that was calculated to re-establish peace? He was not more fortunate than Gregory, and he ended by solemnly deposing the emperor in the general council of Lyons, in 1245.^a

The new schism in the empire which took place in 1257, was alien to the Pope, and produced no event in relation to the Holy See. The same must be said of the deposition of Adolphus of Nassau in 1298, and of his struggle with Albert of Austria.

In 1314, the electors fall anew into the enormous fault of being divided ; and in consequence there arises immediately a war of eight years between Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, a war in like manner foreign to the Holy See.

At this period the Popes had disappeared from that unfortunate Italy where the emperors had not shown themselves for sixty years, and which the two factions inundated with blood throughout its length and breadth, *without minding much either the interests of the Popes or those of the emperors.*^b

The war between Louis and Frederick produced the two sanguinary battles of Eslingen in 1315, and Muldorff in 1322.

Pope John XXII. had broken the vicars of the empire in 1317, and summoned the two competitors to discuss their rights. If they had obeyed, the battle of Muldorff at least would have been averted. Besides, if the pretensions of the Popes were exaggerated, those of the emperors were not less so. We find Louis of Bavaria, in an ordi-

^a Several writers have remarked that this celebrated excommunication was pronounced *in presence* of the council, but *without its approbation*. This difference is scarcely perceptible, as the council did not protest ; and if it did not protest, it was because it believed there was question of a point of public law, which did not even require to be discussed. This is not sufficiently noticed.

^b Maimbourg, Hist. de la Décadence, &c. an 1308.

nance of 23rd April, 1328, treating the Pope absolutely like an imperial subject. *He enjoined him residence, forbade him to remove from Rome, for more than three months, and more than two days' journey, without the permission of the Roman clergy and people. If the Pope resisted after being thrice summoned, he ceased to be Pope, ipso facto.*

Louis concluded by condemning to death John XXII.^a

Such is the state to which the emperors would have reduced the Popes! and in this abject condition would the sovereign pontiffs have been to-day if their imperial majesties had obtained the mastery.

It is well known that Louis of Bavaria made several attempts to be reconciled, and it appears even that the Pope would have yielded to his wish, but for the formal opposition of the kings of France, Naples, Bohemia, and Poland.^b The conduct of the emperor Louis was, however, so intolerable, that he was again excommunicated in 1346. His tyranny was carried to such an extravagant height in Italy, that he proposed the sale of the states and towns of that country to those who should offer the highest price.^c

The celebrated epoch of 1349 put an end to all these quarrels. Charles IV. yielded in Germany and in Italy. He was then laughed at, because the minds of men were accustomed to exaggeration. Nevertheless, he reigned worthily in Germany, and Europe became indebted to him for the *golden bull* which fixed the public law of the empire. Since that time there has been no change, which

^a Maimbourg, Hist. de la Décad. &c. an 1328.

^b We must never lose sight of the great and incontestable historical truth, that all the sovereigns considered the Pope their superior, even temporally, but especially did they hold him to be the liege lord of the elective emperors. The Popes, according to universal opinion, were understood to give the empire in crowning the emperor. His imperial majesty received from them the right to name his successor, and from him (the emperor) the German electors received the privilege of naming a *king of the Teutons*, who was thus destined to the imperial crown. To him also the emperor elect made oath, &c. The pretensions of the Popes, therefore, can only appear strange to those who absolutely refuse to go back in thought to those remote periods.

^c Maimb. Hist. de la Décad. &c. aa. 1328 et 1329.

shows that he acted on perfectly sufficient grounds, and that what he carried into effect was what Providence had appointed.

A rapid glance at the famous quarrel has sufficed to show what ought to be thought of *those four centuries of blood and fanaticism*. But to give to the picture the requisite degree of gloom, and especially to throw all the odium on the Pope, recourse is had to certain innocent artifices, which it may prove useful to bring together.

The commencement of the great quarrel cannot be fixed at an earlier period than the year 1076, and its conclusion cannot be brought lower down than the time of the *golden bull*, in 1349. In all, 273 years. But as round numbers are more agreeable, it is as well to say *four centuries*, or at any rate, about *four centuries*.

And as war was waged in Germany and Italy during *this period*, it must be understood that it was waged *during THE WHOLE of this period*.

And as there was war in Germany and Italy, and as those two states are a considerable part of Europe, it must be understood also that war continued to rage *throughout all Europe*. This is only a trifling *synecdoche*, which is not open to the slightest objection.

And, as the difference about investitures and excommunications made much noise in the course of those four centuries, and were calculated to occasion some military movements, it is proved, moreover, that *all* the wars of Europe during that period had no other cause, and that the Popes were *always* in the fault.

So that *the Popes, for about four centuries, inundated Europe with blood and fanaticism.*^a

So powerful is the hold of habit and prejudice on the human mind, that writers otherwise distinguished by wisdom, are pretty liable, in treating this point of history, to affirm and deny the same thing, without observing their error.

^a "During four or five centuries."—*Lettres sur l'Hist.* Paris, Nyon, 1803, tom. ii. lett. xxviii. p. 220, note.

"During about four centuries."—*Ibid.* Lettre xli. p. 406. I decide for the half of four centuries.

Maimbourg, for instance, who has been too much depreciated, and who generally appears tolerably wise and impartial, in his "History of the Decline of the Empire, &c." says, in speaking of Gregory VII., "If he had been able to fall upon making some good concordat with the emperor, like those which have since been most advantageously entered into, he would have spared the blood of *so many millions of men* who perished in the quarrel of investitures."^a

Nothing could equal the folly of this passage. Assuredly it is easy to say in the seventeenth century how a concordat should have been made in the eleventh, with princes who had neither moderation, nor faith, nor humanity.

And what shall I say of those *so many millions of men* sacrificed to the quarrel of investitures, which lasted only fifty years, and on account of which I do not believe that a single drop of blood was shed?^b

But if the national prejudices of this author (Maimbourg) happen to slumber for a moment, truth comes out, and he tells us, without ambiguity, in the same work :

"It must not be thought that the two factions waged war on account of religion. . . . It was nothing else than hatred and ambition that excited them against one another, for their mutual destruction."^c

Such readers as have perused only the blue books, cannot divest themselves of the prejudice that the wars of the period in question were caused by the *excommunications*, and that, but for those excommunications, there would have been no fighting. There never was a more egregious error. As I have already stated, *there was war before this quarrel, there was war after it.* Peace is not

^a Maimbourg, an 1085.

^b The dispute commenced with Henry, on account of simony ; the emperor wishing to render the ecclesiastical benefices venal, and to make the Church a fief holding of his crown, and Gregory VII. desiring the contrary. In regard to investitures, we behold, on the one side, violence, and on the other, pastoral resistance more or less unfortunate. Never was blood spilled in this cause.

^c Maimbourg, Hist. de la Décadence, an 1317.

possible wherever sovereignty is not fixed. Now, it was not so at that time. Nowhere did it last sufficiently long to gain respect. The Empire, even, being elective, did not inspire that kind of reverence which belongs only to hereditary power. Changes, usurpations, *extravagant desires, vast projects*, were necessarily the fashion, and such ideas really prevailed in all minds. The vile and abominable policy of Machiavel is infected with this spirit of robbery; it is the policy of cut-throats, which, so late as the fifteenth century, still obtained with a number of great men. It has scarcely more than one problem: "How shall assassins outwit one another?" There was not at that time in Germany and Italy a single sovereign who felt secure in the possession of his own states, and who did not covet those of his neighbour. To complete the evil, sovereignties, divided into portions, were given up piecemeal to such princes as were able to purchase them. There was not a castle that did not shelter a brigand or the son of a brigand. Hatred was in every heart; and the melancholy habit of great crimes had converted all Italy into a scene of horrors. Two great factions, which by no means owed their existence to the Popes, chiefly divided those beautiful countries. "The Guelfs, who would not acknowledge the Empire, always espoused the cause of the Popes against the emperors."^a The Popes were, therefore, necessarily Guelfs, and the Guelfs were necessarily enemies of the anti-popes, whom the emperors ceased not to place in opposition to the Sovereign Pontiffs. Hence this party could not fail to be taken for that of orthodoxy, or of *Popery* (if I may be allowed to use, in its proper acceptation, a word spoiled by sectarian abuse). Muratori, even, although *very imperialist*, in his Annals of Italy, often designates the Guelfs and the Ghibellines (perhaps without much reflection) by the names of *Catholics* and *Schismatics*.^b But, let it be repeated, the Guelfs owed not their origin to the Popes.

^a Maimbourg, an 1317.

^b *La legge cattolica.—La parte cattolica.—La fazione de' scismatici, &c.*—Murat. Ann. d'Italia, tom. vi. pp. 267, 269, 317, &c.

Every candid man, who is conversant with the history of those unhappy times, knows that in such a state of things peace was impossible. There is nothing so unjust, and at the same time so unreasonable, as to attribute to the Popes political tempests that were absolutely unavoidable, but the effects of which they not unfrequently mitigated by the influence of their authority.

It would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to point out, in the history of those unfortunate times, a single war produced by an excommunication. This evil was, for the most part, added to some other, when, in the midst of a war that had already arisen out of political affairs, the Popes had ground for believing that it was their duty to show severity.

The time of Henry IV. and that of Frederick II. are the two periods at which there might be most reason for saying that excommunication produced war; and, even on those occasions, how many extenuating circumstances were there not—invariably arising from the state of matters, from intolerable provocations, from the indispensable duty of defending the Church, from the precautionary measures with which the Sovereign Pontiffs found it necessary to surround themselves, in order to diminish the evil! *

* We see, for instance, that Gregory VII. only decided on acting against Henry IV. when the danger and the evils of the Church appeared to him intolerable. We find, moreover, that instead of declaring him fallen, he was content with subjecting him to the judgment of the German electors, and *with instructing them to name another emperor if they thought proper*. In proceeding thus, it must certainly be admitted, founding on the ideas of the present day, that he showed moderation. But if the electors came to be divided, and occasioned a war, it was by no means what the Pope desired. It will be said, "who wills the cause, wills the effect." Not at all, if the first mover have no choice, and if the effect depend on a free agent, who does wrong, having it in his power to act right. I agree, moreover, that all this be considered merely as in extenuation. I am no more partial to reasonings than to exaggerated pretensions.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT—REFLECTIONS ON
THE WARS.

It would certainly be displeasing to the Popes to maintain that they never were in the least to blame. We owe them only truth, and they require no more. But if it has sometimes happened to them to overstep, in regard to the emperors, the bounds of perfect moderation, equity demands that we should take into account, also, the wrongs and the violence beyond example that were practised in regard to them. I have often, in the course of my life, heard it asked, by what right the Popes deposed the emperors. The answer is at hand. By the right on which is founded all legitimate authority : POSSESSION, on the one side ; on the other, ASSENT. But, supposing the reply were more difficult, it would be allowed us at least to retort, and to inquire, *by what right the emperors presumed to imprison, to banish, to outrage, to maltreat, and finally to depose the Sovereign Pontiffs ?*

I would have it observed, moreover, that the Popes who reigned in those difficult times—the Gregory, the Adrian, the Innocent, the Celestine, &c.—having all been men so distinguished by learning and virtue as to extort from their enemies, even, the testimony due to their moral character, it appears quite just that if, during the long and noble combat they sustained for religion and social order, against every vice upon the throne, there be some obscure points which history has not perfectly cleared up, we ought at least to do them the honour to presume that if they were present to defend themselves, they would be able to give us excellent reasons for proceeding as they did.

But, in our age of philosophy, quite an opposite course has been followed. In the eyes of the philosophers, the emperors are everything—the Popes nothing.* How was

* I mean the emperors of ancient times, the pagan emperors, the persecuting emperors, the emperors who were enemies of the

it possible they should hate religion without hating also its august Chief? Would to God the faithful were all as well persuaded as the infidels of the truth of this great maxim: "*That the Church and the Pope are all one.*"^a The latter were never under any mistake as to this fact, and, in consequence, never ceased to strike at this base of the great fabric, which presented so many obstacles. They were, unfortunately, powerfully aided in France—that is, in Europe—by the parliaments and the Jansenists, two parties who scarcely differed in anything but in name; and by dint of attacks, of sophistry, and calumnies, the conspirators succeeded in creating a fatal prejudice, which dethroned the Pope in opinion, at least in the opinion of a great number of men, blind or blinded, and which ended by obtaining with many estimable characters. I cannot read without real alarm the following passage of the "Letters on History:"—

"Louis le Débonnaire, dethroned by his children, is judged, condemned, absolved by an assembly of bishops. HENCE that impolitic power which bishops have arrogated over sovereigns; HENCE those sacrilegious or seditious excommunications; HENCE THOSE CRIMES OF LEZE-MAJESTY FULMINATED AT ST. PETER'S OF ROME, where the successor of St. Peter absolved nations from their oath of fidelity, where the successor of him who has said *that his kingdom is not of this world*, distributed sceptres and crowns, where the ministers of the God of peace provoked whole nations to MURDER."^b

To find, even in Protestant authors, a passage written with so much anger, we should have to go back to Luther. I shall willingly suppose that it was penned in all possible sincerity; but, if prejudice speaks the language of dis-

Church, and who desired to tyrannize over it, to enslave it, to crush it. This is easily understood. As to *Christian* emperors and kings, it is well known in what favour philosophy holds them. Charlemagne, even, scarcely enjoys the honour of giving them satisfaction.

^a St. Francis of Sales, ut supra, p. 59.

^b Lettres sur l'Histoire, tom. ii. liv. xxxv. p. 330.

honesty, what difference does it make to the imprudent or inattentive reader who swallows the poison? The term of *leze-majesty* is strange, when applied to a sovereign power which happens to come into conflict with another, or is it to be understood that the Pope is inferior to other sovereigns? As a temporal prince, he is equal in dignity to all other princes; but when to this title is added that of "supreme chief of Christianity,"^a none can claim to be his equal; and the interest of Europe—I do not say too much—requires that all men should be well convinced of this. Let us suppose that the Pope has excommunicated some sovereign without sufficient cause; he will have been guilty pretty much in the same way as was Louis XIV. when—in defiance of all the laws of justice, of decency, and of religion—he caused Innocent XII.^b to be insulted in the midst of Rome. The conduct of this great prince may be designated by any name whatever excepting always that of *leze-majesty*, which could have been appropriately applied only to the conduct of the Marquis of Lavardin, if he had acted without orders.^c

The sacrilegious excommunications are not less ridiculous, and, after all that has been said, do not require, I think, any discussion. I would only cite, in opposition to this terrible enemy of the Popes, an authority which I value exceedingly, and which it will not be in his power, I hope, wholly to reject:—

^a This is the remarkable title the illustrious Burke bestowed on the Pope, in one of his works or parliamentary discourses which I have no longer at hand. He meant, no doubt, *that the Pope is the chief of those Christians, even, who deny him*. A great truth acknowledged by a great personage.

^b Bonus et pacificus pontifex.—Boss. Gall. Orthod. § 6.

^c He entered Rome at the head of eight hundred men, as a conqueror rather than as an ambassador, and came literally to demand, in the name of his master, *the right to protect crime*. He paid to his own court the delicate compliment of communicating publicly in his chapel, after having been excommunicated by the Pope. It is on this Marquis de Lavardin that Madame de Sevigné has written the singular eulogium that may be read in her letter of 16th October, 1675.

! "In the time of the crusades," says the author of the "Letters on History," "the power of the Popes was great; their anathemas, their interdicts were respected, dreaded. *The prince who would have been inclined to disturb the states of a sovereign engaged in a crusade, knew that he exposed himself to an excommunication, which might have made him lose his own. This idea, besides, was generally diffused and adopted.*"^a

It would be possible, as is obvious, and I would willingly undertake the task, to compose on this text alone a book entitled "*The Utility of Sacrilege.*" But why confine this utility to the time of the crusades? A repressive power is never rightly judged, if all the evil it prevents is not taken into consideration. And this was the triumph of pontifical authority in the times of which we are speaking. How many crimes has it not hindered, and for how many benefits is not the world indebted to it! To compensate for some struggle, more or less fortunate, which figures in history, how many fatal thoughts, how many terrible desires, has it not stifled in the hearts of princes! How many sovereigns must have said in their secret conscience: "*No, we will not expose ourselves!*" The authority of the Popes was, during several centuries, the real constituent power in Europe. It created *European monarchy*, that wonderful work of more than human workmanship, which we coldly admire, like the sun, because we behold it every day.

I make no remark on the logic which argues from the celebrated words, "My kingdom is not of this world," to establish that the Pope could never have exercised, without crime, any jurisdiction over sovereigns. This is a commonplace, of which, perhaps, I shall have occasion yet to speak; but we cannot read without the deepest melancholy the accusation brought against the Popes, *of having provoked nations to MURDER*. He ought, at least, to have said, provoked to *war*; for there is nothing more essential than to call everything by its appropriate name. I knew that

^a Lettres sur l'Histoire, liv. xlvi, p. 494.

the soldier kills ; but I was not aware that he is a *murderer*. There is much said about war, whilst few know that it is necessary, and that it is we ourselves who make it so. But, without diving into this question, let it suffice to repeat, that the Popes, as temporal princes, have as good a right as other sovereigns to wage war ; and, provided they have waged it (and this is incontestable) less frequently, more justly, and more humanely than other princes, nothing more can be rightly required of them. Far from *provoking to war*, they on the contrary laboured, with all their power, to prevent it ; they invariably intervened as mediators, when circumstances permitted ; and, more than once, they excommunicated princes, or threatened them with excommunication, in order to avert wars. As to excommunications, it is not easy, as we have seen, to prove that they produced the wars laid to their charge. Besides, the right was incontestable ; and abuses, merely of human growth, ought never to be taken into account. If men, sometimes, made use of excommunications as pretexts for waging war, in such cases even they fought in opposition to the will of the Popes, who never desired, and never could desire war. Without the temporal power of the Popes, political affairs could not have proceeded ; and the greater its vitality, the fewer wars will there be ; for it is the only power whose interest it evidently is to maintain peace.

As to wars that were just, holy even, and necessary, as were the crusades, if the Popes *provoked* them, and sustained them with all their might, they did well, and we owe them our unflinching gratitude. But I am not writing on the crusades.

And if the Sovereign Pontiffs had always acted as *mediators*, does any one believe that they would at least have enjoyed the marvellous felicity of obtaining the approval of our age ? By no means. The Pope is displeasing to it in every way, and in all conceivable relations. We may hear again the same judge^a complain that the envoys of

^a " For a long time the political centre of Europe had been

the Sovereign Pontiff were called to those great treaties, by which the fate of nations was decided, and congratulate himself that this abuse would no longer exist.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BULL OF ALEXANDER VI., INTER CÆTERA.

A CENTURY before the time of the celebrated treaty of Westphalia, a Pope who presents in his own person a melancholy exception to that long series of virtues by which the Holy See has been honoured, published the famous bull which divided between the Spaniards and the Portuguese those territories which the enterprising genius of discovery had already given, or might afterwards give, to the two nations, in the Indies and in America. The finger of the Pontiff traced a line on the globe, which the two nations agreed to consider as a sacred boundary, which ambition should respect on either side.

Nothing more grand could have been witnessed than the two people thus submitting such differences as then existed between them, and such as might afterwards occur, to the disinterested decision, of the common Father of all

forcibly established at Rome. It had been transferred thither by circumstances and considerations rather religious than political. And it ought to have begun to remove from thence by degrees, in proportion as men learned to separate politics from religion (a great work truly!) and to avoid the evils which their connection had too frequently produced."—*Lettres sur l'Histoire*, tom. iv. liv. xcvi. p. 470.

I would venture, on the contrary, to express my belief that the title of *born mediator* (between Christian princes) accorded to the Sovereign Pontiff, would be, of all titles, the most natural, the most magnificent, and the most sacred. I can imagine nothing more grand than his ambassadors, in the midst of every great congress, claiming peace without having waged war; having never to utter the words *acquisition* or *restitution*, in regard to the common Father, and speaking only in behalf of justice, humanity, and religion.—*Fiat! Fiat!*

the Faithful, and so substituting the most imposing arbitration for interminable wars. It was a great happiness for humanity that the Pontifical dignity had yet sufficient influence to obtain this remarkable consent, and the noble arbitration was so worthy of a true successor of St. Peter, that the bull "Inter cætera" ought to belong to another Pontiff.

Here, at least, it is only reasonable to expect that our age should give its approval; but it is quite otherwise. Marmontel has decided, in express terms, "that of all the crimes of Borgia, this bull was the greatest."^a We need not be surprised at this unintelligible decision on the part of a disciple of Voltaire; but we shall presently see that a French senator has shown himself neither more reasonable nor more indulgent. I shall give his opinion at length, as it is indeed an extraordinary one, especially in an astronomical point of view:

"Rome," says he, "which for several centuries had pretended to bestow sceptres and kingdoms on its own continent, would no longer be satisfied with any other limits to its authority than those of the world. *The equator, even, was subjected to the chimerical power of its concessions.*"^b

The pacific line traced on the globe by the Roman Pontiff was a meridian;^c and such circles having, as every one knows, the invariable pretension of passing from the one pole to the other, without stopping anywhere, if they chance to fall in with the equator on their way, which may easily happen, they will certainly intersect at right angles, but without the least inconvenience either to the Church or the state. We must not believe, besides, that Alexander VI. stopped at the equator, or that he took it *for the limit of the world*. That Pope, who was not, it is true, the most exemplary of men, but who possessed great talents, and had read his "Sacro Bosco," was not liable to be mistaken in such a matter. I must say, moreover, that I cannot under-

^a Les Incas, tom. i. p. 12.

^b Lettres sur l'Hist. tom. iii. let. lvii. p. 157.

^c Fabricando et construendo lineam à polo arctico ad polum antarcticum.—Bull "Inter cætera," of Alexander VI. 1493.

stand how he can be justly accused of having made an attempt on the equator *even*, only because he interposed as arbiter between two princes whose possessions were, or ought to have been, divided by that great circle *even*.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BULL "IN CŒNA DOMINI."

THERE is not a man in Europe, perhaps, who has not heard speak of the bull "In cœnâ Domini;" but how many are there in Europe who have taken the trouble to read it, I know not. It appears to me certain, however, that a very wise man may have spoken of it in the most unmeasured terms, without having read it.

It is of the number, says such a man, "*of so many shameful documents, the language of which he ventures not to cite!*"^a

We might well suppose that there is question here of *Joan of Arc* or the *Giant of Sygeum*. As books *in folio* are little read in our day, unless such as are historical, and moreover beautifully illuminated, I believe I shall not perform a superfluous task by presenting here to the general reader the substance of this famous bull. When children are terrified by some distant object, magnified and disfigured by their imagination, it is necessary, in order to refute a credulous *bonne*, who tells them "it is a monster, a ghost," to take them gently by the hand, and conduct them with all cheerfulness of manner to the source of their alarm.

ANALYSIS OF THE BULL "IN CŒNA DOMINI."

The Pope excommunicates—

Art. 1. All heretics.^b

^a Lettres sur l'Histoire, tom. ii. lettre xxxv. p. 225, note.

^b On this point at least, I should imagine there is no difficulty. As *heretics* are those who *wilfully and obstinately reject* the Church, it is by no means unreasonable that the Church should deny them the privilege of its communion. (Hence all who have been educated in other creeds than that of the Catholic Church cannot be considered heretics.)

Art. 2. All who appeal to a future council.^a

Art. 3. All pirates ranging the seas without letters of marque.

Art. 4. Every man who shall dare to steal anything from a shipwrecked vessel.^b

Art. 5. All who shall establish in their lands new taxes, or shall take it upon them to increase those already existing, except in cases provided for by the law, or in the event of obtaining the express permission of the Holy See.^c

Art. 6. The falsifiers of apostolic letters.

Art. 7. All who shall furnish arms or munitions of war of any kind to Turks, Saracens, or heretics.

Art. 8. All who intercept provisions of any kind whatsoever on their way to Rome for the use of the Pope.

* Whatever side is taken on the question of appeals to a future council, we cannot blame a Pope, particularly a Pope of the fourteenth century, who severely represses those appeals as subversive of all ecclesiastical government. Saint Augustine, so long ago as his early age, thus addressed certain appellants: "And who are you, that you must needs disturb the world?" I doubt not but that among the most decided partisans of such appeals, there are several who will honestly admit that on the part of private individuals at least, nothing can be supposed more anti-catholic, more indecent, and more inadmissible in every respect. We might, indeed, imagine a case, presenting plausible appearances; but what shall we say of a wretched sectary who should fall upon the wise idea of sending an appeal from his garret to a general council. Sovereignty is like nature,—*it does nothing in vain*. Why talk of a general council, when the pillory is sufficient.

^b It is impossible to imagine anything more noble or more in harmony with our better feelings than this proceeding on the part of religious supremacy.

^c Considering the ordinary taxes on each state as *legally established*, the Pope decides that they cannot be increased, that new taxes cannot be imposed, except in such cases as are foreseen by *national law*, or in cases that are wholly unforeseen and extraordinary, and then by virtue of a dispensation from the Holy See. In reading these "*infamous things*," I own it, to my great confusion, I must have become proof against shame,

"Je me sois fait un front qui ne rougit jamais;"

for in transcribing them I experience no such feeling, but rather, I may say, take much pleasure in the task.

Art. 9. Those who shall kill, mutilate, rob, or imprison persons on their way to the Pope or returning from him.

Art. 10. Those who shall treat as above described pilgrims whom devotion induces to visit Rome.

Art. 11. Those who should be guilty of the like acts of violence towards cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and legates of the Holy See.^a

Art. 12. Those who strike, rob, or maltreat any person on account of causes he is pursuing at the courts of Rome.^b

Art. 13. Those who, under the pretence of a frivolous appeal, transfer causes from the ecclesiastical to the secular tribunal.

Art. 14. Those who bring cases of disputed benefices and tithes into lay courts.

Art. 15. Those who cite ecclesiastics before lay tribunals.

Art. 16. Those who rob prelates of their legitimate jurisdiction.

Art. 17. Those who sequester jurisdictions or revenues legitimately belonging to the Pope.

Art. 18. Those who impose on the Church new tributes without the permission of the Holy See.

^a The four preceding articles depict the age in which they were necessary. Who, in our day, would dream of intercepting provisions destined for the Pope, or lying in wait for travellers on their way to the Pope, in order to rob, mutilate, or kill them? who would think of offering violence to pilgrims, cardinals, or the legates of the Holy See? But, once more, the acts of sovereigns ought never to be judged, without taking into consideration the times and places to which they relate. And although the Popes had gone too far in their different regulations, we would only be entitled to say *they went too far*. And this would be quite enough. We can never suppose any need for oratorical exclamations, much less occasion for *shame*.

^b On the one hand are *beat, robbed, maltreated*, those who carry their pleas to Rome, and on the other those who strike, rob, or maltreat are excommunicated. Where lies the blame? and who ought to be blamed? If men's eyes were not wilfully closed, they would see that when there are mutual wrongs, it is the height of injustice to see them only on one side; that there is no means of avoiding such struggles, and that the fermentation which disturbs the wine is an indispensable preliminary to its clarification.

Art. 19. Those who take an active part in capital prosecutions against priests without the permission of the Holy See.

Art. 20. Those who usurp the countries or territories under the sovereignty of the Pope.

What follows is of no importance.

Here, then, is that celebrated bull *In cœnâ Domini!* Every one may now form his own opinion of it. And I doubt not but every candid reader who has heard it denounced as "a disgraceful monument, the language of which dare not be quoted," will at once be satisfied that the author of this judgment had not read the bull, and that this is the most favourable conclusion that can be come to in regard to a man of such great merit. Several dispositions of the bull are the emanations of superior wisdom, and altogether would have constituted the police of Europe in the fourteenth century. The two last Popes, Clement XIV. and Pius VI., ceased to publish it every year, according to the ancient custom. Since they did so, they did right. They no doubt believed it was their duty to make some concessions to the ideas of the age; but I do not see that Europe has gained by the change. However this may be, it is worth while to observe that our bold innovators caused torrents of blood to flow, in order to obtain, but without success, some of the articles consecrated more than three centuries ago by the bull, and which it would have been eminently unreasonable to expect sovereigns to concede.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIGRESSION ON ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION.

THE last articles of the bull *In cœnâ Domini* relate almost wholly, as we have just seen, to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thousands and thousands of times has this power been accused of encroaching on the other, and of attracting all causes to its own tribunal, by means of sophistry, sup-

ported by the oath appended to contracts, &c. It would be a sufficient refutation of this charge to observe that in all countries, and under all imaginable governments, the direction of affairs naturally belongs to science, and that all science originated in the temples, and was from thence communicated to society; that the word *clergy* having become, in the ancient language of Europe, synonymous with that of *science*, it was at once just and natural that the clerk should judge the layman, in other words, that science should judge ignorance, until the dissemination of knowledge restored the equilibrium; that the influence of the clergy in civil and political affairs was a great happiness for humanity, as has been remarked by all sincere and well-informed writers; that those who refuse to do justice to the canon law have never read it; that this code has given a form to our judicial proceedings, and corrected or abolished numerous subtleties of the Roman law, which were not suited to us, if ever they were good; that the canon law was preserved in Germany, notwithstanding all the efforts of Luther, by the Protestant doctors, who taught it, eulogized it, and even expounded it; that in the thirteenth century it had been solemnly approved by a decree of the diet of the Empire, promulgated under Frederick II., an honour never conferred upon the Roman law, &c. &c.^a

But I will not avail myself of all my advantages. I insist here only on the injustice which persists in seeing only the faults of the one power, and closes its eyes to those of the other. We are always told of the *usurpations* of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for my part, I do not accept this word without explanation. And, indeed, *to enjoy, to take, to take possession of*, even, are not always synonymous with *usurp.* But, although there should really have been *usurpation*, could there be any more glaring and more unjust exemplification of it than in the conduct of the temporal jurisdiction in regard to its sister, which it so falsely called its *enemy*? Call to mind, for instance, the honourable stratagem which the French tribunals had employed to rob

^a Zalwein, Princip. Juris Eccl. tom. ii. p. 233, et seq.

the Church of her most incontestable jurisdiction. It is most proper that this piece of jugglery should be known to those even who are the least conversant with the laws.

“Every question connected with tithes or benefices belongs to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No doubt,” said the parliaments, “the principle is incontestable, AS TO THE DEMAND (*pétitoire*), that is to say, if there be question, for instance, of deciding to whom really belongs a contested benefice; but, if there be question of the POSSESSORY, or of knowing which of the two pretenders actually possesses, or ought to be sustained until the real right be inquired into, *we* must judge, considering that there is question only of an act of high police, intended to prevent quarrels and deeds of violence.”^a

“Behold now we understand one another,” common sense would say; “make haste to decide on the point of possession, in order that there may be no delay in coming to a decision on the real merits of the case.” “Oh! *you understand nothing about it*,” the magistrates would say; “there is no doubt of the jurisdiction of the Church as to the *demand* (*pétitoire*); but we have decided that the *demand* cannot be judged before the *possessory*; and that this point once settled, it is no longer allowed to examine the other.”^b

And thus did the Church lose a most important branch

^a *Ne partes ad arma veniant.* A maxim of the jurisprudence of those times, when men cut one another's throats before the judges could have time to decide. It is remarkable that it was the canon law which caused to be held in great honour this theory of the POSSESSORY, in order to avert crimes and acts of violence, as may be seen in several canons, particularly in the canon REINTEGRANDÆ, so celebrated in the tribunals. The weapon which the Church presented to the tribunals has since been turned against herself.

Non hos quæsitum munus in usus.

^b The royal ordinance says expressly, that for the *demand* (*pétitoire*), recourse will be had to the ecclesiastical judge.—Fleury, *Disc. sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gall. dans ses opusc.* p. 90. Thus, in order to extend their jurisdiction, did the parliaments violate the royal law. There are other examples of the same kind.

of her jurisdiction. Now, let me ask every man and every woman, every intelligent child even, Was there ever imagined more disgraceful chicanery, more revolting usurpation? Could the Gallican Church, thus encrusted all over as it were by the parliaments, retain the least freedom of action? She boasted of her rights, her privileges, her liberties; and the magistrates, with their *royal cases*, their *possessories*, and their *appeals as on ground of error* (*appels comme d'abus*), had left her no liberty, except as regarded some of her less important spiritual functions.

I shall never have sufficiently repeated that I like not, and maintain not, any exaggeration. I pretend not that we ought to return to the customs and the public law of the twelfth century; but, at the same time, I shall never have sufficiently asserted, that, in confounding periods essentially distinct, there has been also confusion of ideas; that the French magistrates had contracted a high degree of guilt, in maintaining an actual state of war between the Holy See and France, which indoctrinated Europe with its perverse maxims; and that there is nothing more false than the light in which were represented the ancient clergy in general, but particularly the Sovereign Pontiffs, who were undoubtedly the preceptors of kings, the preservers of science, and the instructors of Europe.

BOOK III.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATIONS WITH CIVILIZATION AND
THE HAPPINESS OF NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

MISSIONS.

IN order to make known the services done to mankind by the Sovereign Pontiffs, we could do nothing better than transcribe the English work of Dr. Ryan,—“*Benefits of Christianity;*” for these benefits are those of the Popes, Christianity acting externally only through them. All the Churches that are separated from the Pope are governed within themselves according to the peculiar views of each ; but they are powerless as regards the diffusion of evangelical light. The work of Christianity will never be advanced through their means. Deservedly barren from the time of their divorce, they will never resume their primitive fecundity, except by uniting once more with the bridegroom. To whom belongs the work of missions?—To the Pope, and the missionaries sent from the Holy See. Consider that famous *Bible Society*, the weak and perhaps dangerous rival of our missions. It informs us, every year, how many copies of the Bible it launches into the world ; but it always omits to tell us how many new Christians it has produced.* But if the money which this society spends on

* The evils this society is calculated to originate have not appeared doubtful to the Anglican Church, which has more than once exhibited symptoms of alarm. If we inquire what sort of good it is destined to produce in carrying out, as everything must do, the designs of Providence, we find, in the first place, that this enterprise may be a quite new and even divine species of pre-

Bibles were given to the Pope, to be devoted to the expenses of missions, he would by this time have made more Christians than there are pages in all the Bibles of the association.

The separated Churches, and the first of them all particularly, have made various attempts in this way; but all these pretended evangelical labourers, separated from the Chief Pastor of the Church, resemble those animals which art has trained to walk on two feet, and to counterfeit certain human attitudes. They may succeed to a certain extent; they are even admired on account of the difficulty surmounted; nevertheless, it is seen that all is forced work, and that nothing could be more satisfactory to the poor creatures than to be once more upon their four legs.

Although such men had nothing against them but their divisions, nothing more would be necessary to render them powerless. *Anglicans, Lutherans, Moravians, Methodists, Baptists, Puritans, Quakers, &c.*—such are the people with whom heathens have to deal. The Scripture says, “How shall they hear (understand), if no one preach to them?” It may be said, with equal truth, “How will they be believed, if they do not understand (hear) one another?”

An English missionary has felt this curse of sterility, and has expressed himself in regard to it with candour, delicacy, and truly religious sincerity, which show that he was worthy of that *mission*^a which was wanting to him.

“The missionary,” he says, “ought to be far above a narrow bigotry,^b and ought to possess a truly Catholic

paration for the Gospel. It might, besides, contribute powerfully to restore to us the Anglican Church, which certainly will not escape destruction from the blows inflicted on it by the principles of this society.

^a “How shall they preach, *unless they be sent*?”—Rom. x. 15.

^b This word *bigotry*, which, according to its acceptation in the English language, conveys the idea of *blind zeal, prejudice, and superstition*, is applied, nowadays, by the *liberal* pen of English writers, to every man who takes the liberty to believe differently from those gentlemen, and we have even had the pleasure to hear the reviewers of Edinburgh (les réviseurs d’Edimbourg) accuse Bossuet of *bigotry*. (Edin. Rev. Oct. 1803, No. 5, p. 215.) Bossuet a bigot! The world has made a discovery.

spirit.^a It is not his duty to teach Calvinism or Arminianism, but Christianity. It is not his object to propagate an Anglican hierarchy, nor the principles of the Protestant dissenters, but to serve the *universal Church*.^b I wish the missionary to be well persuaded that the success of his ministry by no means depends on the points of separation, but on those which enjoy the concurrent assent of all religious men."^c

By this passage we are recalled to the eternal and idle distinction of fundamental and non-fundamental dogmas. It has been again and again refuted; it were superfluous now to return to the discussion. Every dogma has been denied by some one of the dissenters. What right has any one of them to claim a preference over the rest? He who denies only one dogma loses the right to teach so much as one. How, besides, can we believe that the power of the gospel is not divine, and that, as would necessarily follow, it may be found out of the Church? The divinity of this power is as obvious as the sun. "It seems," says Bossuet, "as if the Apostles and their first disciples had laboured under-ground to establish so many churches in so short a time, whilst none knew how it was done."^d

The Empress Catherine II., in an exceedingly curious letter, which I have read at St. Petersburg,^e says that she had often observed with admiration the influence of missions on the civilization of and political organization of the people:—"In proportion as religion advances, villages are seen to rise as if by enchantment," &c. It was the ancient

^a Worthy man! He says what he can, and his words are remarkable.

^b He repeats here in English what he has just said in Greek. Whether he say *catholic* or *universal*, it matters not. It is evident that he feels the want of *unity*, which cannot be found apart from *universality*.

^c See "Letters of Missions addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches, by Melville Horne, late Chaplain of Sierra Leone, in Africa." Bristol, 1794.

^d Hist. des Var. liv. vii. No. xvi.

^e It was addressed to a Frenchman, M. de Meilhan, who belonged, if I mistake not, to the ancient parliament of Paris.

Church that effected these wonders, because it then possessed a legitimate existence. It was quite in the power of the Russian sovereign to compare this vigour and fecundity with the absolute nullity of that same Church when separated from the great root.

The learned Chevalier Jones has remarked the impotence of evangelical preaching in India (British India). He despairs entirely of being able to overcome the national prejudices. The best thing he can devise is to translate into Persian and Sanscrit the most decisive texts of the Prophets, and try their effect upon the natives.^a It is always the great error of Protestants to persist in commencing by science, whilst it is really necessary to begin by authoritative preaching, accompanied with music, pictorial representations, solemn rites, and everything calculated to show what religion is without discussion; but to pride, this way of proceeding will ever be unintelligible.

Mr. Claudius Buchanan, an Anglican doctor of theology, published some years ago a work on the state of Christianity in India, and displays throughout the most astounding fanaticism, together with many interesting observations.^b The fruitlessness of Protestant attempts at conversion is acknowledged in every page; and, at the same time, the total indifference of the British government towards the religious establishment in that great country:

^a “ If there be any human means of bringing about the conversion of those people (the Indians), it would be, perhaps, to translate into Sanscrit or Persian select passages of the ancient prophecies, to accompany them with a reasoned preface, in which would be shown the perfect accomplishment of these prophecies, and to disseminate the work among the natives who have received a distinguished education. If this means, with time, produced no salutary effects, we could only deplore the force of prejudice, and the weakness of UNASSISTED reason.”—W. Jones’s works, on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, tom. i. in 4to. pp. 279, 280.

There is nothing more true nor more remarkable than what Sir William Jones here says in regard to UNASSISTED reason; but for him, as for so many others, it was a barren truth.

^b Vid. Christian Researches in Asia, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D. in 8vo. London, 1812, ninth edition.

“There are twenty English regiments in Asia,” he says, “without a single chaplain. The soldiers live and die without performing any act of religion.^a The governors of Bengal and Madras accord no protection to the Christians of the country; they prefer granting employments to Hindoos and Mahometans.^b At Saffera, the whole country is under the power (spiritual) of the Catholics, who quietly took possession of it, through the indifference of the English; and the British government, rightly^c preferring the Catholic superstition to the worship of Buddha, supports at Ceylon the Catholic religion.^d *A Catholic priest said to him: ‘How would you have your nation employ itself in converting to Christianity its Pagan subjects, whilst it refuses Christian instruction to its own Christian subjects?’*^e So Mr. Buchanan was not surprised to learn that *every year a great number of Protestants returned to idolatry.*^f Never, perhaps, at any period of Christianity, was the *religion of Christ* humbled to such a degree as it has been in the island of Ceylon, through *the official neglect* the Protestant Church has been made to experience.^g Such is the indifference of the British, that, if it pleased God to deprive them of the Indies, there would scarcely remain in those countries a proof that they had been governed by a people who had themselves received the light of the Gospel.^h In all the mili-

^a Christian Researches in Asia, p. 80.

^b Ibid. pp. 89, 90.

^c It is indeed kind on his part to give the preference to Catholicism over the religion of Buddha.

^d Christian Researches in Asia, p. 95.

^e The government has not zeal, because it has not faith. Its conscience deprives it of strength; and this is what the blind minister does not or will not see.

^f Christian Researches in Asia, p. 95.

^g We have here another proof of the delicate attention of the British government, which possesses sufficient wisdom not to attempt planting the religion of *Christ*, in a country where that of *Jesus Christ* already prevails; but how can an *official* ecclesiastic understand all that?

^h Christian Researches in Asia, p. 283, note.

tary stations is observable an almost total extinction of Christianity. Great numbers of men grow old, far from their country, in pleasure and independence, without beholding the least sign of the religion of their native land. Such an Englishman, for instance, has not for twenty years witnessed the performance of Divine service.^a It is a most extraordinary thing, that, in exchange for the pepper furnished by the wretched Indian, England refuses him even the New Testament.^b When the author reflects on the *immense power* of the Roman Church in India, and the inability of the Anglican clergy to counteract its influence, he adopts the opinion that the Protestant Church would not do amiss to seek an ally in the Syrian, which inhabits the same countries, and which possesses everything requisite for uniting with a PURE Church, *considering that it makes profession of the doctrine of the Bible*, and rejects the supremacy of the Pope."^c

Thus have we, from a pen the least liable to suspicion, the most explicit avowals of the nullity of the separated Churches: not only does the spirit which divides them annul them one after another; it checks us also, and retards our success. On this point Voltaire has made an important remark: "The greatest obstacle," says he, "to our religious success in India, arises from the variety of opinions which divide our missionaries. The Catholic there does battle with the Anglican,—who, in his turn, wages war upon the Lutheran,—who is himself at issue with the Calvinist. Thus, all fighting against one another, each sect claims to announce the truth; and, accusing the rest of falsehood, they astonish a simple and peaceable people, who behold arriving amongst them, from the western

^a Christian Researches in Asia, pp. 285 and 287.

^b Ibid. p. 102.

^c Ibid. pp. 285-287. One would suppose the Catholic Church *professed the doctrines of the Alkoran!* The English clergy need not flatter themselves that these shameful extravagances will meet with the same indulgence and compassion they are treated with by us, among sensible men of their own country.

extremities of the world, men ardently striving to destroy one another on the banks of the Ganges." ^a

The evil is not, however, by any means so great as is here asserted by Voltaire, who mistakes his wish for the reality. So far is this from being the case, that our superiority over the sects is manifest, and solemnly acknowledged, as has just been shown, even by our most bitter enemies. Nevertheless, the divided state of Christians is an enormous evil, which at least retards the great work, although it does not wholly interrupt it. Wo, then, to the sects that *have torn the garment without seam!* But for them, the universe would be Christian.

Another cause which tends to annul this pseudo-gospel ministry, is the moral state of its organs. They never rise above the level of *probity*, and are weak and miserable instruments for everything that requires *sanctity*. The missionary who has not bound himself, by the most solemn engagement, to rigid denial as regards the strongest of human propensities, will always remain inferior to his functions, and will at last become ridiculous or guilty. The result of the English missions at Tahiti is well known. Each apostle, having become a libertine, made no difficulty in acknowledging it, and the scandal has resounded throughout Europe. ^b

In the midst of barbarous nations, far from any superior, and all the support he might find in public opinion, alone with his heart and his passions, what can the *merely human* missionary effect? What his colleagues effected at Tahiti. The best of this class is only suited, after having received his mission at the hands of the civil power, to go to inhabit a commodious house with his wife and his children, and to preach philosophically *to subjects*, under the cannon of his

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c. tom. i. ch. iv.

^b I now hear that matters at Tahiti have since changed for the better. Without discussing the facts, which, perhaps, present only vain appearances, I shall only say, *Of what consequence to us are those doubtful conquests of Protestantism in some imperceptible island of the South Sea, whilst they destroy Christianity in Europe?*

sovereign. Real apostolical labours they will never venture to touch, even with the points of their fingers.

We must, besides, make a distinction between civilized and barbarian infidels. To the latter we may say whatever we please ; but, fortunately, heresy dares not address them. With regard to the former, it is quite otherwise : they are already sufficiently well-informed to be able to discern us. When Lord M'Cartney was about to depart on his celebrated embassy, his Britannic majesty requested that the Pope would send some students of Propaganda who knew the Chinese language : this request the Holy Father cordially agreed to. Cardinal Borgia, then at the head of Propaganda, begged in his turn that Lord M'Cartney would be pleased to avail himself of the circumstance, to recommend at Peking the Catholic missions. The ambassador willingly agreed to discharge the commission, as became a man of his condition ; but what was his surprise to hear the *collao* (or first minister) make reply, " that the emperor was very much astonished to see the British protecting, in the heart of Asia, a religion which their fathers had abandoned in Europe ! " This anecdote, which I learned at the fountain-head, shows that these men are better informed than we believe, in regard to matters to which they might appear to us to be utter strangers. Let an Anglican preacher, then, go to China, and announce to his hearers " That Christianity is the finest thing in the world, but that unfortunately this Divine religion was corrupted, in its early youth, by two great apostasies—that of Mahomet in the East, and that of the Pope in the West ; that these two apostasies having begun at the same time, and being destined to last 1,260 years,* they must both fall toge-

* *The NATIONS being destined to trample under foot the Holy City during forty-two months* (Apoc. xi. 2), it is clear that by NATIONS must be understood *Mahometans*. Moreover, forty-two months make 1,260 days, allowing thirty days to each month ; this is evident. But every day signifies a year, therefore 1,260 days are equal to 1,260 years. Now, if to these 1,260 years are added 622, the date of the Hegira, the result will be 1,882 years ; therefore, Mahometanism cannot last beyond the year 1882.

ther, and are already approaching their end ; that Mahometanism and Catholicism are two parallel corruptions, and exactly of the same kind ; and that there is not in the world a man bearing the name of a Christian who can doubt the truth of this prophecy." * Assuredly, the Mandarins, who shall hear these wondrous assertions, will take the preacher for a madman, and make sport of him accordingly. In all heathen countries that are civilized, if there exist men capable of receiving the truths of Christianity, they will not have listened to us long without conceding to us the superiority over sectaries. Voltaire had his reasons for representing us a *sect* disputing with other sects ; but the sound sense of unprejudiced men will at once perceive, on the one hand, the Church one and unchangeable ; and, on the other, heresy with its thousand heads. Long before knowing its name, they know the monster itself, and keep on their guard.

Our immense superiority is so well known, that it Now the papal corruption is doomed to end together with that of Mahomet, therefore, &c. Thus reasons Mr. Buchanan, whom I have quoted above (pp. 199, 200, 201). Our learned author might well have remarked that this ultra-Protestant doctor had only to reason as eloquently on a third "corruption," to equal in extravagance of blasphemy the author of the book "*De Tribus Impostoribus.*"

* When we consider that these inconceivable follies still disfigure in the nineteenth century the works of a number of English theologians, such as Doctors Daubeney, Faber, Cunningham, Buchanan, Hartley, Frere, &c., we cannot contemplate without a religious dread the abyss of aberrations into which the most just chastisement is plunging the most criminal rebellion. The modern Attila, less civilized than the first, hurls from his throne the Sovereign Pontiff, makes him prisoner, and takes possession of his states. No sooner has he done so, than the heads of anti-Catholic writers are on fire. They believe it is all over with the Pope, and that God himself has no means of bringing him out of his difficulties. Behold then, how they compose *in octavos* on the *accomplishment of the prophecies*. But, whilst they are yet in the press, the power and the wishes of Europe restore the Pope to his throne, and, tranquil in the eternal city, he prays for the authors of those absurd productions. And so will it always be—*Verbum Domini manet in æternum*. [And as it was then, *et NUNC et SEMPER.*]

alarmed even the East-India Company. Some French priests, borne to those countries on the wings of the revolutionary tempest, really made them tremble. They feared lest, in making Christians, they should make Frenchmen also. (No well-informed Englishman will deny this statement.) The East-India Company no doubt says, as we do, "May your kingdom come!" but never without the corrective, "May our own remain!"

If our superiority be acknowledged in England, the nullity of the Anglican clergy, in this respect, is not less well understood.

"We do not believe," said respectable journalists of that country, not many years ago, "we do not believe that the Missionary Society is the work of God, . . . for we cannot easily be persuaded that God may be the author of confusion, and that the dogmas of Christianity ought to be successively announced to Pagans by men *who not only go without being sent,*^a but who differ in opinion among themselves, in so strange a manner as Calvinists differ with Arminians, Episcopalians with Presbyterians, and Pedobaptists with Antipedobaptists . . ."

The editors, after slightly noticing the flimsy system of *essential dogmas*, continue: "Among such heterogeneous missionaries, disputes are inevitable; and their labours, instead of enlightening the nations, are only calculated to light up their prejudices against the Christian faith, if ever *it should be announced to them in a more regular manner.*^b

^a *Not only running* UNSENT, is indeed a very remarkable expression. The word *missionary* being precisely synonymous with *sent* (envoyé), every missionary acting out of the pale of unity is obliged to say ("*Je suis un envoyé non envoyé*"), "*I am a commissioner without a commission.*" Although the Missionary Society should be approved by the Anglican Church, the same difficulty would always exist; for this church, not having been *sent*, has no right to *send*. UNSENT is the general stigmatizing and indelible mark of every separated church.

^b What do the journalists mean by the expression "*in a more regular manner?*" Can there be anything regular beyond the rule? One may be more or less *near* a ship, but more or less *within* it is quite another thing. The Church of England even

In a word, *the Missionary Society can do no good, and may do a great deal of evil.*

“We believe, nevertheless, that it is a duty of the Church to preach the Gospel to unbelievers.”*

These avowals require no commentary. They are sufficiently plain. It would be superfluous to speak of the Eastern Churches, or any of those depending on them or making common cause with them. We could not do them justice more abundantly than they themselves have done. Convinced of their inefficiency, they have ended by making their apathy a sort of duty. They would conceive they made themselves ridiculous if they suffered themselves to harbour the idea of extending the conquests of the Gospel, and, through these conquests, the civilization of nations.

The Church alone, therefore, possesses the honour, the power, and the right of missions; and without the Sovereign Pontiff there exists no Church. Was it not he who civilized Europe, and created that common feeling, that spirit of fraternity, by which we are characterized? No sooner is the Holy See established, than the Sovereign Pontiffs are filled with *universal solicitude*. So early as the fifth century they send St. Severinus to Noricum (Bavaria and Austria), and other apostolic labourers preach the Gospel to the Spaniards, as we learn from the celebrated letter of Innocent I. to Decentius. In the same century, St. Palladius and St. Patrick appear in Ireland and in the north of Scotland. In the sixth, St. Gregory the Great sends St. Augustine to England. In the seventh, St. Kilian goes to Franconia, and St. Amandus preaches to

suffers from a disadvantage the other separated churches are not subject to, for, as it is obviously *alone*, so is it absolutely *null*. (Vid. Monthly Political and Literary Censor, or Anti-Jacobin, March, 1803, vol. xiv. No. 9, pp. 280, 281.) But perhaps the words, “*in a more regular manner*,” conceal some mystery, as I have often observed in the works of English authors.

* Ibid. This is a great word. *To the Church alone belongs the right, and consequently the duty, of preaching the gospel to infidels.* If the editors had underlined the word *Church*, they would have preached to unbelievers a most important truth.

the Carinthians, the Sclavonians, and all the barbarians who dwelt along the banks of the Danube. Elwulf de Verden travels to Saxony in the eighth century; St. Willibrand and St. Swibert to Friesland; and St. Boniface fills Germany with his labours and his success. But the ninth century appears to be distinguished above all the rest, as if Providence had designed by great conquests to console the Church in anticipation of the misfortunes by which she was destined so soon after to be afflicted. In the course of this century, St. Siffroy was sent to the Swedes; Ancharius of Hamburgh preached to these same Swedes, to the Vandals, and Sclavonians; Rembertus de Brème, the brothers Cyril and Methodius, to the Bulgarians, to the Chazares, to the Turks of the Danube, to the Moravians, to the Bohemians, to the immense family of the Slavi. All these apostolic men together might have truly said:

“Hic tandem stetimus nobis ubi defuit orbis.”

And, when the world was enlarged by the memorable enterprises of modern navigators, did not the missionaries of the Sovereign Pontiff make haste to follow in the footsteps of those indefatigable discoverers? Did they not go in search of martyrdom, as avarice sought gold and diamonds? Were not their charitable hands constantly stretched out to repair the evils generated by our vices, and to render the robbers from Europe less odious to those remote populations? What has not St. Francis Xavier done? * *Have not the*

* A Paulo tertio Indiæ destinatus, multos passim toto Oriente Christianos ad meliorem frugem revocavit, et innumeros prope modum populos ignorantie tenebris involutos ad Christi fidem adduxit. Nam præter Indos, Brachmanes et Malabaras, ipse primus Paravis, Malaïs, Jaïs, Acenis, Mindanaïs, Molucensibus, et Japonibus, multis editis miraculis et exantlatis laboribus Evangelii lucem intulit. Perlustratâ tandem Japoniâ, ad Sinas profecturus, in insulâ Sancianâ obiit. (Vid. his Office in the Parisian Breviary, 2nd December.)

The journeys of St. Francis Xavier are related in detail at the end of his life by Father Bouhours, and deserve great attention. Taken continuously, they are equal to the tour of the globe. He died at the age of forty-six. He spent only ten years in accom-

Jesuits alone healed one of the greatest wounds of humanity? ^a All has been already said on the missions of Paraguay, China, the Indies; and it would be superfluous to return to such well-known subjects. Let it suffice to observe, that all the honour is referable to the Holy See. "Behold," said the great Leibnitz, with a noble feeling of emulation quite worthy of him, "behold China open to the Jesuits! The Pope sends thither a number of missionaries. *We are not sufficiently united to admit of our undertaking such great conversions.*" ^b In the reign of King William, there was formed in England a kind of society, whose object was the propagation of the Gospel; but hitherto it has not had much success." ^c

Never will it have, and it never can have, any success, under whatever name it may act, beyond the pale of Catholic unity; and not only will it not succeed, *it will do nothing but evil*, as has just been acknowledged by a Protestant authority.

"Kings," said Bacon, "are really inexcusable in not promoting, by means of their power and their riches, the propagation of the Christian religion." ^d

No doubt they are; and they are so all the more (I speak only of Catholic sovereigns), that, blinded to their dearest interests by modern prejudices, they do not understand that every prince who employs his strength and his means in propagating legitimate Christianity, will be infallibly recompensed by great successes, by a long reign, by real and lasting fame, or by all these advantages together. There is not, there will not be, there cannot be, any exception on this point. Constantine, Theodosius, Alfred, Char-

publishing his prodigious labours, the time Cæsar required to subjugate and devastate Gaul.

^a Montesquieu.

^b Lettre de Leibnitz, citée dans le Journal Hist., Politique, et Littéraire de l'Abbé de Feller. Août, 1774, p. 209.

^c Leibnitzii Epist. ad Kortholtam, dans ses œuvres in 4to, p. 323. — Pensées de Leibnitz, in 8vo. tom. i. p. 275.

^d Bacon, in the Dialogue *de Bello Sacro*. [Bacon's Christianity, tom. ii. p. 274.

lemagne, St. Louis, Emmanuel of Portugal, Louis XIV., and other sovereigns. All the great protectors or propagators of true Christianity are distinguished in history by the marks of Divine favour I have just enumerated. When a prince interests himself in the work of God, and promotes it by all the means in his power, he may still, no doubt, have to pay his tribute of imperfections and misfortune to the lamentable weakness of humanity; but nevertheless there will be seen upon his brow a certain sign, which all nations will hold in reverence.

Illum aget pennà metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

Every prince, on the other hand—who, born in light, shall despise it, or labour to extinguish it; and who, above all, shall dare to lay hands on the Sovereign Pontiff, or grievously afflict him—may count upon some temporal and visible chastisement. A short reign, humbling disasters, a violent or disgraceful death, a bad name during life, and a tarnished memory after death, are the evil destiny which more or less awaits him. From Julian to Philip the Fair, examples of more ancient date are written everywhere; and as to recent instances, the wise man who would expose them in their true light will do well to wait until time shall have given them a more remote position in the page of history.

CHAPTER II.

CIVIL LIBERTY OF MANKIND.

WE have seen that the Sovereign Pontiff is the natural chief, the most powerful promoter, the great *Demiurgus* of universal civilization; his powers in this respect have no other limits than the blindness or the evil dispositions of princes. Nor have the Popes less deserved the gratitude of humanity by the extinction of slavery, which they have unceasingly combated, and which they will infallibly extinguish without violence, without commotions, without

danger, in every place where they shall have liberty to exert their influence. It was a singular absurdity of the last century to judge everything according to abstract rules, without any regard to experience ; and it is all the more striking, that the men of that age ceased not, at the same time, to exclaim against all the philosophers who began by abstract principles, instead of taking counsel with experience.

Rousseau is exquisitely ridiculous, in commencing his social contract with the high-sounding maxim : “ *Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains.* ”

What does he mean ? He does not, apparently, intend to speak of the fact ; as, in the same phrase in which he pronounces man free, he affirms that he is EVERYWHERE *in fetters*. There is question, then, of the *right* to be free ; but this is what ought to have been proved *in opposition to THE FACT*.

The opposite of the foolish assertion, *man is born free*, is the truth. At all times and in all places, until the establishment of Christianity, and even until this religion had sufficiently penetrated into the hearts of men, slavery was always considered as something essential to the government and political state of nations, in republics as well as monarchies ; whilst it never came into the head of any philosopher to say there should not be slaves, nor into that of any legislator to attempt their abolition, either by fundamental laws or by such as circumstances might give rise to.

One of the most profound philosophers of antiquity, Aristotle, as is well known, has gone so far as to say *that there were men who were born slaves* ; and there is nothing more true. I am aware that in our time he has been blamed for this assertion ; but it would have been more to the purpose to understand than to criticise him. His position is founded on the whole of history, the politics of experience, and on the nature of man, which created history.

Whoever has studied sufficiently this unfortunate nature, knows that *man in general*, if left to himself, *is too wicked to be free*. Let each one examine the nature of man in

his own heart, and he will understand that, wherever civil liberty shall belong to all alike, there will no longer be any means, *without extraordinary aid*, of governing men as national bodies.

Hence, slavery was constantly the natural state of a very great portion of mankind, until the establishment of Christianity; and, as the good sense of man in general perceived the necessity of this order of things, it was never opposed either by laws or argument.

A great Latin poet has put into the mouth of Cæsar the terrible maxim:

“THE HUMAN RACE EXISTS ONLY FOR THE GOOD OF A FEW MEN.”^a

This maxim, in the sense attributed to it by the poet, presents a Machiavelic and revolting aspect; but, in another point of view, it is quite just. Everywhere a very small number have ruled the great masses of men; for, without an aristocracy, more or less powerful, sovereignty is not sufficiently strong.

The number of free men in antiquity was much less than the number of slaves. In Athens there were forty thousand slaves, and twenty thousand citizens.^b At Rome, which, towards the end of the republic, counted about one million two hundred thousand inhabitants, there were scarcely two thousand proprietors,^c which alone shows the immense number of slaves. One individual had sometimes several thousands in his service.^d There were seen executed, on one occasion, four hundred belonging to one house, by virtue of an atrocious law, which required, at Rome, that when a Roman citizen was slain in his own house, all the slaves who dwelt under the same roof should be put to death.^e And when there was question of giving

^a Humanum paucis vivit genus.—Lucan. Phars.

^b Larcher, on Herodotus, lib. i. note 258.

^c Vix esse duo millia hominum qui rem habeant.—Cicero, de Officiis, ii. 21.

^d Juven. Sat. iii. 140.

^e Tacit. Ann. xiv. 43. The speeches on this subject delivered in the senate are exceedingly curious.

to the slaves a particular dress, the senate refused, *lest it should occur to them to count themselves.*^a

Other nations would furnish almost similar instances, but we must abridge. Besides, it would be superfluous to prove at length what none are ignorant of, *that the world, until the time of Christianity, was always covered with slaves, and that the sages never blamed the custom.* This proposition cannot be shaken.

But at length the Divine law appeared upon the earth. It at once took possession of the heart of man, and changed it in a manner calculated to excite the never-failing admiration of every true observer. Religion, at its very commencement, laboured above all things, and unceasingly, to abolish slavery; and this no other religion, no other legislator, no other philosopher, had ever ventured to undertake, or had ever dreamt of. Christianity, which acted by Divine power, for this reason also acted gently and slowly; for all legitimate operations, of whatever kind they may be, are always imperceptibly carried on. Wherever there is noise, tumult, impetuosity, destruction, &c., it may be relied upon that crime or folly is at work.

Religion, then, gave battle perseveringly to slavery, acting sometimes in one place, sometimes in another—sometimes in one way, sometimes in another—but without ever relaxing its efforts; and the sovereigns perceiving, without being as yet able to account for it, that the priesthood relieved them of a portion of their labours and their fears, yielded imperceptibly to their wishes, and aided in forwarding their beneficent views.

“At length, in the year 1167, Pope Alexander III. declared, in the name of a council, *that all Christians ought to be exempt from slavery.* This law alone *ought to render his memory dear to all nations,* just as his exertions to sustain the liberty of Italy must render his name precious to the Italians. Long afterwards, by virtue of this law, Louis le Hutin declared that all the serfs who still remained in

^a Adam's Roman Antiquities, in 8vo. London, p. 35, *et seq.*

France should be emancipated. Nevertheless, men recovered only by degrees, and with very great difficulty, their *natural right*.”^a

No doubt, *the memory of the Pontiff ought to be dear to all nations*. It did indeed legitimately belong to his sublime quality to take the initiative in making such a declaration; but it must be observed that it was only in the twelfth century that he promulgated the declaration, and that then even he declared the right to liberty, rather than liberty itself. He permitted himself neither violence nor threats; whatever is well done, is never quickly done.

Wherever there prevails any other religion than the one Catholic faith, slavery maintains its ground; and wherever this religion falls into decay, the nation becomes, exactly in proportion, less susceptible of liberty in general.

We have just seen the social state of Europe shaken to its foundations, because there was in Europe too much liberty, and at the same time not enough of religion. There will yet be more commotions, and good order will not be thoroughly established until either slavery or religion be restored.

The government alone cannot govern. This maxim will appear all the more incontestable the more it is meditated upon. All governments require, therefore, as an indispensable minister, either slavery, which diminishes the number of acting wills in the state, or Divine power, which, by a sort of spiritual *graft*, destroys the natural asperity of those wills, and enables them to act together without mutual injury.

The New World has furnished an example which completes the demonstration. What has not been done by the Catholic missionaries, that is, by the envoys of the Pope,

^a Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.* ch. lxxxiii. We here find Voltaire, tainted with the delusions of his time, preaching *the natural right of man to liberty*. I have some curiosity to know how he would have established this right in the face of facts which bear incontestable evidence *that slavery is the natural state of a great portion of the human race, until the time of the SUPER-NATURAL enfranchisement*.

to console, to restore, to ennoble mankind, in those vast regions ?

Wherever this power will be allowed to act, it will produce similar results. But let the nations which reject it, even though still professing Christianity, beware of abolishing slavery, if it yet subsist amongst them : a great political calamity would inevitably be the consequence of such a blind and imprudent measure.

But it must not be imagined that the Church or the Pope—*they are all one*^a—has no other view in declaring war on slavery than the political improvement of mankind. This power aims at a still higher object—the perfecting of morality, of which political perfection is merely an emanation. Wherever slavery prevails, there can be no true morality, because of the inordinate empire of man over woman. Although in full possession of her rights, and mistress of her actions, she is already too weak against the seductions by which she is everywhere surrounded. What then must not her position be when her will even can no longer defend her ? The very idea of resistance will vanish, vice will become a duty, and man, gradually degraded by the facility of gratification, will no longer be superior in point of morals to the voluptuaries of Asia.

Mr. Buchanan, whom I have already quoted, and from whom I willingly borrow another remark as true as it is important, says : “ In all the countries where Christianity prevails not, there is observable a certain tendency to the degradation of woman.”^b

There is nothing more obviously true. It is possible, even, to point out the cause of this degradation, which can only be combated by a supernatural principle. Wherever our sex is able to command vice, there can be no true morality nor real dignity of manners. Woman, who is all powerful over the heart of man, returns to him in full measure the perversity she receives at his hands ; and nations grovel in this *vicious circle*, out of which it is im-

^a Sup. liv. i. p. 34.

^b Christian Researches in Asia, &c. by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D. London, 1812, p. 56.

possible for them to escape by any strength inherent in themselves.

By an operation quite contrary to this, and also quite natural, the most effectual means of improving man is to raise and ennoble woman. Towards this end, Christianity alone tends and labours without ceasing, and with infallible success—success which is only limited more or less, according to the kind and number of the obstacles which may thwart its action. But this immense and sacred power of Christianity is null when it is no longer concentrated in one hand, which shall wield it and render it available. In this respect, Christianity, disseminated over the globe, is in the same position as a nation which has no existence, nor action, nor power, nor consideration, nor even a name, except through the sovereignty which represents it, and gives it a moral personality among the peoples of the earth.

Woman is more indebted than man to the Christian faith. She derives from it all her dignity. The Christian woman is really a *supernatural* being, inasmuch as she is raised and upheld by religion in a state that is not *natural* to her. But by what immense services does she not pay for being thus ennobled !

The great bulk of mankind is, then, *naturally* in a state of serfdom, from which it cannot be extricated otherwise than through *supernatural* means. Together with slavery, there can be no real morality ; without Christianity, no general liberty ; and without the Pope, no true Christianity—in other words, no operating, powerful, converting, regenerating, conquering, improving Christianity. It belonged, therefore, to the Sovereign Pontiff to proclaim universal liberty ; he has done so, and his voice has resounded throughout the world. This liberty became possible only through him in his character of unique chief of that religion which is alone equal to the work of moderating the wills of men, and which could not without him exert the full measure of its power. At the present time, one must be blind not to see that all the sovereignties of Europe are growing weak. They are losing on all hands the confidence and the love of mankind. Sects, and modes of thought

peculiar to each individual, are increasing to an alarming extent. The wills of men must be either purified or enchained; there is no medium. The dissenting princes in whose states slavery prevails must preserve it or perish. All others will return either to slavery or unity. . . .

But what assurance have I that I shall be in life to-morrow? To-day, therefore, I would write a thought which occurs to me on the subject of slavery, even though I should wander from the matter in hand; which, however, I do not think I shall have done.

What is the religious state in Catholic countries? So to speak, an ennobled serfdom. To the ancient institution itself, so useful in many respects, this state adds a number of particular advantages, and removes it from all abuses. The vow of religion, instead of degrading man, sanctifies him. Instead of enslaving him to the vices of others, it emancipates him from them. In subjecting him to an elected superior, it declares him free in regard to other men, with whom he can no longer have any transaction.

As often as the wills of men can be subdued without degrading the individual, an inestimable service is rendered to society in relieving the government of the care of watching over these men, of employing, and especially of paying them. Never was there a more happy idea than that of uniting in one body a number of peaceful citizens, who labour, pray, study, write, give alms, cultivate the ground, and ask nothing of authority.

This truth is particularly apparent in our days, when from all quarters men are throwing themselves upon the resources of the government, which knows not how to dispose of them.

Our youth, impetuous, innumerable, unfortunately for itself, without restraint, ambitious of distinctions and of wealth, crowd into the career of public employments. There are four or five times more candidates than is necessary for every imaginable profession. You will not find an office in Europe in which the number of persons employed has not tripled or quadrupled within fifty years. Public business, it is said, has increased; but men create all this

business, and too many interfere in it. All, at the same time, hasten towards power and the duties therewith connected; they forcibly open every door, and necessitate the creation of new places; there is too much liberty, too much movement, too many wills let loose in the world. A mob of fools have inquired, *Of what use are religious people?* How then! may not men serve the Church without being invested with a charge? And is the advantage of chaining up the passions and neutralizing vice of no consideration? If Robespierre, instead of being an advocate, had been a Capuchin, it would have been said of him, too, as he passed by, *Heavens! of what use is that man?* Hundreds and hundreds of writers have pointed out, in the clearest manner, the numerous services the religious state has rendered to society; but I think it advantageous to make it be considered in the point of view that has been hitherto least attended to, and which, assuredly, was not the least important—as master and director of a multitude of wills—as an invaluable supplement to government, whose greatest interest it is to moderate the internal movement of the state, and to increase the number of men who have nothing to ask of it.

To-day, thanks to the system of universal independence, and to the infinite pride which has taken possession of all classes, every man would fight, judge, write, administer, govern. We lose ourselves in the whirlwind of affairs; we groan under the crushing weight of writings; one half the world is busy governing the other, but without success in their employment.

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTION OF THE PRIESTHOOD—CELIBACY OF PRIESTS.

I.—ANCIENT TRADITIONS.

THERE is no dogma in the Catholic Church, there is no general custom even, belonging to mere discipline, that may not trace its origin to the profoundest depths of human

nature, and consequently to some universal opinion, more or less altered here and there, but common, nevertheless, in its principle, to all peoples and to all times.

The development of this proposition would furnish matter for an interesting work. It will scarcely be a digression from my subject to give a single example of this wonderful relation ; I shall seek this example in confession, solely in order that I may be better understood.

What is there more natural to man than that impulse which inclines one soul towards another, in order to communicate a secret?^a The wretched man who is distracted by remorse or by chagrin has need of a friend, a confidant, who shall listen to him, console him, and sometimes direct him. The stomach which contains poison, and which is spontaneously convulsed in order to eject it, is the natural image of a heart into which crime has poured its poisons. It suffers, it is agitated, it is contracted, until it has found the ear of friendship, or at least that of benevolence.

But when, from confidential communication, we pass to confession, and the avowal is made to authority, the conscience of mankind recognizes in this spontaneous confession an expiatory power and a meriting of grace ; there is but one sentiment on this point, from the mother who questions her child in regard to a piece of broken china, or some sweetmeats partaken of contrary to orders, to the judge who, from the height of his tribunal, interrogates the robber and the assassin.

Frequently, too, the guilty man, urged by his conscience, refuses the impunity he might have hoped for by keeping silence. I know not what mysterious instinct, stronger even than that of preservation, makes him seek the punishment he has it in his power to avoid. Even in cases in which he has not to dread either witnesses or torture, he cries out, "YES, IT IS I!" And reference might be made to merciful legislators, which, in such cases, confide to magistrates of the highest order the power to mitigate

^a An admirable expression of Bossuet (*Oraison Funèbre d'Henriette d'Angleterre*). La Harpe has justly extolled it in his *Lycæum*.

the punishment, even without having recourse to the sovereign.

“We cannot refuse to recognize, in the simple acknowledgment of our faults, independently of all supernatural ideas, something which tends in the highest degree to establish in man uprightness of heart and simplicity of conduct.”^a Moreover, as it is of the nature of every crime to be a reason for committing another, every spontaneous avowal is, on the contrary, a source of correction; it preserves the guilty person alike from falling into despair and from becoming hardened in evil, it being impossible that crime should be harboured in the human breast without conducting to both the one and the other of these two abysses.

“Do you know,” said Seneca, “why we conceal our vices? Because we are buried in them: whenever we confess them, we are healed.”^b

We can fancy we hear Solomon saying to the guilty, “Whoever conceals his sins will be lost; but he who *confesses* them, and relinquishes them, shall obtain mercy.”^c

All the legislators in the world have acknowledged these truths, and have acted on them for the benefit of mankind.

First of all, Moses establishes, in his code of laws, *a distinct and even public confession*.^d

The ancient legislator of the Indies said, “The more a man confesses sin he has committed, truly and willingly, the more he disencumbers himself of that sin, as a serpent divests itself of its old skin.”^e

The same ideas having prevailed in every place, and at all times, confession has been found among all the peoples who had received the Eleusinian mysteries. It was met

^a Berthier on the Psalms, tom. i. Ps. xxxi.

^b Quare sua vitia nemo confitetur? quia in illis etiamnum est; vitia sua confiteri, sanitatis indicium est.—Sen. Epist. Mor. liii.

^c Prov. xxviii. 13.

^d Levit. v. 5, 15, and 18; vi. 6; Num. v. 6, 7.

^e He adds immediately after: “But if the sinner desires to obtain a full remission of his sin, let him particularly avoid falling anew!!!”—Laws of Menu, son of Brahma, in the works of Sir William Jones, in 4to. tom. iii. ch. xi. Nos. 64 and 233.

with in Peru, among the Brahmins and the Turks, in Thibet, and in Japan.^a

On this, as on all other points, what has Christianity done? It has revealed to man the knowledge of himself; it has taken possession of his inclinations, of his lasting and universal convictions; it has laid bare to the light these ancient foundations; it has cleansed them of every stain, of every alien mixture; it has honoured them with the impress of Divinity; and on these *natural* bases it has erected its *supernatural* theory of penance and sacramental confession.

What I say of penance I might likewise say of all the other dogmas of Catholic Christianity; but let one example suffice. And I trust that in this kind of introduction the reader will find a natural transition to the subject I now proceed to discuss.

The opinion is held alike by men of all times, all places, and all religions, *that there is in continency something heavenly, which exalts man, and renders him agreeable to the Divinity; and that, by a necessary consequence, every sacerdotal function, every religious act, every sacred ceremony, is but little, if at all, in accordance with the state of marriage.*

There is no legislation in the world that has not restrained the priesthood in some way, and which, even in regard to other men, has not accompanied prayers, sacrifices, and solemn ceremonies, with some abstinence of this kind, and more or less severe.

The Hebrew priest could not espouse a woman that had been repudiated, and the high priest could not even marry a widow.^b The Thalmud adds, that he could not have two wives, although polygamy was allowed to the rest of the people;^c and all were required to be clean when they entered the sanctuary.

^a Carli, *Lettere Americane*, tom. i. lett. xix. Extrait des *Voyages d'Effremoff*, dans le *Journal du Nord*, St. Pétersbourg, Mai, 1807, No. 18, p. 335. Feller, *Catéch. Philosoph.* tom. iii. No. 501, &c.

^b Levit. xxi. 7, 9, 13.

^c Talm. in *Masechet Joma*.

The Egyptian priests likewise had but one wife.^a The hierophant among the Greeks was obliged to observe celibacy and the strictest continency.^b

Origen informs us what means the hierophant had recourse to in order that he might be able to keep his vow.^c Thus did antiquity distinctly acknowledge both the high importance of continency for sacerdotal functions, and the weakness of human nature when unsupported by any other than its mere natural strength.

The priests in Ethiopia as well as Egypt lived in seclusion, and observed celibacy.^d

And Virgil attributes glory in the Elysian fields to the priest who had always remained chaste.^e

The priestesses of Ceres at Athens, where the laws assigned to them the highest importance, were chosen by the people, supported at the public expense, consecrated for their whole lifetime to the worship of the goddess, and obliged to live in the most austere continency.^f

Behold what in ancient times was thought throughout the whole known world. Many centuries later we find the same ideas prevalent in Peru.^g

^a Phil. apud P. Cunæum de Repub. Hebr. Elzevir, in 16mo. p. 190.

^b Potter's Greek Antiquities, tom. i. p. 183, 356. Lettres sur l'Hist. tom. ii. p. 571.

^c Contra Celsum, cap. vii. No. 48. Vid. Diosc. lib. iv. cap. 79; Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. 13.

^d Bryant's Mythology explained, in 4to. tom. i. p. 281; tom. iii. p. 240, after Diodorus Siculus. Porphy. de Abstin. lib. iv. p. 364.

^e "Quique sacerdotes casti dum vita manebat."—Virg. *Æn.* vi. 661. Heyne, who perceived in this line the formal condemnation of a dogma of Gottingue, annexed to it the following precious note: "This is to be understood," he says, "of the priests who have performed their functions CASTE PURE AC PIE (that is scrupulously) during their life. *Understood in this way, Virgil is not reprehensible.* ITA NIHIL EST QUOD REPREHENDAS."—London, 1793, in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 741. If, therefore, one happens to say *that such a shoemaker, for instance, is chaste*, it signifies, according to Heyne, *that he makes shoes well.* But I would not be understood, from this remark, to fail in respect to so illustrious a man.

^f Lettres sur l'Histoire, à l'endroit cité, p. 577.

^g Carli, Lett. Amer. tom. i. liv. xix.

What value and what honours have not all the nations of the universe assigned to virginity! Although marriage be the natural state of man in general, and even a holy state, according to an opinion equally general, we find, nevertheless, constantly manifested everywhere a certain respect for the virgin; she is considered a superior being; and when she loses this quality even legitimately, she appears, one would say, to be degraded. In Greece, women when betrothed owed a sacrifice to Diana, in expiation of this species of profanation.^a The law had established at Athens particular mysteries relative to this religious ceremony.^b The women held to them tenaciously, and dreaded the anger of the goddess, if they had neglected to conform to them.^c

Virgins consecrated to God are to be found among every people, and at every epoch of the history of mankind. What is there of greater celebrity in the world than the Vestals? *Together with the worship of Vesta, flourished the Roman Empire, with that worship it fell.*^d

In the temple of Minerva at Athens the sacred fire was preserved, as at Rome, by virgins.

These same Vestals have been met with in other nations; for instance, in the Indies^e and in Peru, where it is very remarkable that the violation of the vow was punished in the same way as at Rome.^f Virginity was considered a

^a Ἐπὶ ἀφοσιώσει τῆς παρθενίας. Vid. the Scholiast of Theocritus on the 66th verse of the 11th idyl.

^b Τὰ δὲ μυστήρια ταῦτα Ἀθηναίων πολιτεύονται.—Ibid.

^c Every man who knows ancient manners will not inquire without surprise what the feeling was which led to the establishment of such *mysteries*, and which possessed power to convince men of their importance. Its origin must be somewhere; but, humanly speaking, where?

^d These remarkable words terminate the Memoir of the Vestals, which we find among those of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, tom. x. in 12mo. par l'Abbé Naudal.

^e Vid. the Herodotus of Larcher, tom. vi. p. 133; Carli, Lett. Amer. tom. i. let. v. and tom. i. let. xxvi. p. 458; Not. Procop. lib. ii. De Bello Pers.

^f Carli, *ibid.* tom. i. lett. viii. The translator of Carli assures us that the punishment of the Vestals at Rome was only pre-

sacred state, equally agreeable to the emperor and the Divinity.^a

In the Indies, the law of Menu declares that all the ceremonies prescribed for marriages concern only the virgin, the bride who is not such being excluded from all legal ceremony.^b

The voluptuous legislator of Asia has said, nevertheless, "The disciples of Jesus observed virginity, although it was not commanded, *because of their desire to please God.*"^c The daughter of Josaphat preserved her virginity; God communicated his spirit to her; she believed the words of her Lord and the Scriptures. *She was of the number of those who obey.*"^d

Whence comes this universal opinion? Where did Numa learn, that in order to render his Vestals holy and venerable, it was necessary to enjoin them virginity?^e

Why does Tacitus, anticipating the style of our theologians, write about the venerable *Occia*, who had presided over the community of Vestals during fifty-seven years with *eminent sanctity*?^f

And whence arose the general persuasion among the Romans, "that, if a vestal availed herself of the permission accorded her by the law, to marry after thirty years' seclusion, *marriages of this sort were never happy*?"^g

If from Rome we transfer our thoughts to China, we

tended, and that not one of them remained in the vault (tom. i. lett. ix. p. 114, note). But he does not quote any authority.

^a Carli, *ibid.* tom. i. liv. ix.

^b Laws of Menu, ch. viii. No. 226. Works of Sir William Jones, tom. iii.

^c Alcoran, ch. lvii. v. 27.

^d *Ibid.* ch. lxvi. v. 13 (12).

^e *Virginitate aliisque cæremoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.*—Tit. Liv. i. 29.

^f *Occia quæ septem et quinquaginta per annos summâ sanctioniâ vestalibus sacris præederat.*—Tacit. Ann. ii. 86.

^g *Etsi antiquitûs observatum infaustas ferè et parùm lætabiles eas nuptias fuisse.*—Just. Lips. Syntagma de Vest. cap. vi. It is proper to observe that Justus Lipsius relates this without doubting.

shall there find religious persons subjected in like manner to virginity. Their houses are ornamented with inscriptions which they hold of the emperor himself, who only grants this prerogative to such as have continued virgins till their fortieth year.^a

There are religious men and religious women among the Mexicans, as well as in China.^b What an agreement between nations differing from each other so widely in manners, in character, language, religion, and climate!

Next after virginity, widowhood has enjoyed everywhere the respect of men, and, what is very remarkable, in all the eulogiums bestowed upon this state by writers of every description, we do not find that there is question of the interest of the children, which is nevertheless obvious.

The opinion prevalent among the Hebrew people as to the importance of marriage and the disgrace of sterility is well known; according to their views, the first blessing was that of the perpetuity of families. Why, then, for instance, those high commendations bestowed on Judith, *for having added chastity to fortitude—for having spent one hundred and five years in the house of Manasseh her husband, without having given him a successor?* All the people whom she saved sang to her in chorus, “Thou art the joy and honour of our people, for thou hast acted with manly courage, and thy heart has been strengthened because thou hast loved chastity, and after thy husband hast not known any other.”^c

What, then! does the woman who contracts a second marriage sin against chastity? Assuredly not. But if she prefer widowhood, her conduct will be praised throughout all time and in every quarter of the globe, notwithstanding all prejudices to the contrary.

In India the law excludes from collateral succession the son sprung from the marriage of a widow. Among the

^a M. de Guignes, *Voyage à Pékin*, &c. in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 279.

^b *Idem*, tom. ii. p. 367, 368. M. de Humboldt, *Vue des Cordillères*, &c. in 8vo. Paris, 1816, tom. i. pp. 237, 238.

^c Judith xv. 10, 11; xvi. 26.

Hottentots, the woman who marries anew is obliged to cut off one of her fingers.

Among the Romans, even after the ancient manners had almost entirely disappeared, the same honour was paid to widowhood, the same dislike shown to second marriages. We find the widow of an emperor, when wooed by another, declaring *that it would be without example and inexcusable, that a woman of her name and rank should attempt a second marriage.*^a

China thinks as Rome did. Honourable widowhood is there venerated to such a degree, that triumphal arches are found erected to preserve the memory of women who had remained widows.^b

The estimable traveller who informs us of this custom, indulges afterwards in philosophical reflections upon what appears to him a great contradiction of the human mind: "How does it happen" (these are his words) "that the Chinese, who consider it unfortunate to die without issue, honour at the same time the celibacy of women? What agreement can be discovered between such incompatible ideas? But such are men," &c.

He recites to us, alas! the litanies of the eighteenth century; and, indeed, it is not easy to escape being led astray by them. There is by no means question of the contradictions of the human mind—there being no contradiction whatever. The nations which favour population and honour continency are perfectly at one with themselves and with sound sense.

But, leaving aside the problem of population, which, however, has ceased to be a problem, I return to what has always been a dogma of the human race—*That there is*

^a There is question here of Valeria, widow of Maximian, whom Maximin desired to obtain in marriage. She replied: "Nefas esse illius nominis ac loci feminam sine more, sine exemplo, maritum alterum experiri.—Lact. de Mort. Persecut. cap. xxxix It would be quite useless to say, *it was only a pretext*, since the pretext would have been founded on manners and opinion. Now, it is precisely *manners and opinion* there is question of.

^b M. de Guignes, Voyage à Pékin, tom. ii. p. 183.

nothing more pleasing to the Divinity than continency; and that not only every sacerdotal function, as we have seen, but every sacrifice, every prayer, every religious act, required preparations more or less conformable to this virtue. Such was the universal opinion of the ancient world. The navigators of the fifteenth century having, if I may so speak, doubled the globe, the same opinions were found to prevail in the new hemisphere. Is not that idea natural, which is common to nations differing so widely, and which never had any point of contact? Does it not necessarily belong to the spiritual essence, that constitutes us what we are? Where then would man have found it, if it were not innate? ^a

And this theory will appear all the more divine in its principle, the more strikingly it contrasts with the practical morality of antiquity, which was corrupt to excess, and which involved mankind in every species of disorder, without ever having been able to obliterate from his mind laws written in *divine characters*.^b

A learned English geographer has remarked, in regard to Oriental manners, "Little account is made of chastity in the countries of the East."^c Now, these Eastern manners are precisely the manners of antiquity, and will always be the manners of every country where Christianity prevails not. All who have studied them in the classic authors, and in certain monuments of art which remain, will have found that there is no exaggeration in the assertion of Feller, "that half a century of Paganism presents an infinitely greater number of enormous excesses than would be found in all Christian monarchies from the time that Christianity first obtained sway in the world."^d

And, nevertheless, in the midst of this deep-rooted and

^a Or *revealed*, the editor of the French edition very properly adds.—Edition Charpentier, Paris, 1843, p. 343.

^b Γράμμασι Θεοῦ.—Orig. adv. Cels. lib. i. ch. v.

^c Pinkerton, tom. v. of the French translation, p. 5. In this passage, the author describes the line of demarcation between the Alcoran and the Gospel.

^d Catech. Philos. tom. iii. ch. vi. sect. 1.

universal corruption, there is seen floating, as it were on the sea of iniquity, a truth not less universal, and, considering the state of morality, wholly inexplicable.

At Rome, and under the emperors, great personages, Pollio and Agrippa, contend for the honour of presenting a vestal to the state. *The daughter of Pollio is preferred*, solely because her mother had never belonged to any other than the same husband, whilst on the other hand Agrippa had damaged his house by a divorce.^a

Was there ever anything so extraordinary? Where did the Romans of that age meet with the idea of the integrity of marriage, and that of the natural alliance between chastity and the altar? Where did they learn that a maiden, daughter of a divorced man, although born in lawful wedlock and personally irreproachable, was, notwithstanding, DAMAGED for the altar? These ideas must spring from a principle natural to man, as ancient as man, and, so to speak, a portion of his being.

II.—DIGNITY OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Thus, then, the whole world has never ceased to bear witness to these great truths: 1st, *The eminent merit of chastity*; 2nd, *The natural alliance of continency with all religious functions, but particularly with those of the priesthood.*

Christianity, therefore, in imposing on priests the law of celibacy, has only availed itself of a natural idea; it has disencumbered this idea of all error, given to it a divine sanction, and converted it into a law of the highest discipline. But against this Divine law human nature was too strong, and could only be overcome by the inflexible and all-conquering power of the Sovereign Pontiffs. In barbarous ages, above all, nothing less would have sufficed to save the priesthood than the hand of Gregory VII. Without this extraordinary man, all was lost, humanly speaking. The

^a Præolata est Pollionis filia, NON OB ALIUD quàm quòd mater ejus in eodem conjugio manebat. Nam Agrippa discidio domum IMMINUERAT.—Tacit. Ann. ii. 86.

immense power he exercised in his time is complained of ; as well might men complain of God himself, who gave him that strength, without which he could not have acted as he did. The powerful legislator obtained all it was possible to obtain of rebellious elements ; and his successors applied to the great work with such perseverance, that they succeeded at last in establishing the priesthood upon immoveable foundations.

I am far from exaggerating, and wishing to speak of the law of celibacy as a dogma, properly so called ; but I hold that it belongs to the highest discipline, that it is of unrivalled importance, and that we cannot be too grateful to the Sovereign Pontiff to whom we are indebted for having maintained it.

The priest who belongs to a wife and children, belongs no longer to his flock, or does not sufficiently belong to it. An essential faculty is always wanting to him,—that of giving alms, of exercising charity without sometimes considering too narrowly his own means. In thinking of his children, the married priest dares not follow the impulses of his heart ; his purse is tied up against indigence, which has nothing to expect at his hands but cold exhortations. Moreover, the dignity of the priest would be mortally wounded by certain kinds of ridicule. The wife of a superior magistrate who should manifestly forget her duties would do more harm to her husband than the wife of any other man. And why ? Because the higher magistracies possess a kind of holy and venerable dignity, by which they resemble the priesthood. What would it not be, then, in regard to the priesthood itself ?

Not only do the vices of the wife reflect great discredit on the character of the married priest, but the latter, in his turn, escapes not the danger common to all men engaged in the married state—that of living criminally. The multitude of reasoners who have treated the great question of ecclesiastical celibacy, always found upon the notable sophism, *that marriage is a state of purity*, whilst in reality it is clean only to the clean. How many marriages are irreproachable before God ? Infinitely few. The man who

is blameless in the eyes of the world may be infamous at the altar. If human weakness or perversity establishes a conventional toleration in regard to certain abuses, this toleration, which is itself an abuse, is never suited to the priest, because the conscience of mankind ceases not to compare it with the type of sacerdotal perfection it contemplates within itself; so that it makes no allowance for the copy, whenever it ceases to be like the pattern.

In Christianity there is much that is high and sublime; between the priest and his people there are relations so holy and so delicate, that they can only belong to men absolutely superior to other men. Confession alone requires celibacy. Never will women—and they must be particularly considered in regard to this point—give their full confidence to a married priest. But it is not easy to write on this subject.

The churches so unfortunately separated from the centre of unity were not wanting in conscience, but in strength, when they sanctioned the marriage of priests. They condemn themselves by excepting bishops, and by refusing to consecrate priests before they are married.

Thus do they acknowledge the rule *that no priest can marry*; but they admit that, by toleration and for want of subjects, a married lay person may be ordained. By a species of sophistry which from custom no longer offends, instead of ordaining a candidate *although married*, they marry him *in order that he may be ordained*; so that in violating the ancient rule they distinctly bear witness to it.

In order to know the consequences of this fatal discipline, one must have been in a position to examine them closely. The abject state of the priesthood in the countries where it prevails, cannot be understood by those who have not witnessed it. De Tott, in his Memoirs, has not said too much on this point. Who could believe, that, in a country where the excellence of the marriage of priests is seriously maintained, the epithet, *son of a priest*, is a formal insult? Details on this matter would be highly piquant, and in some respects even useful; but it is painful

to amuse malice and to afflict an unfortunate order, which contains, although everything be against it, most estimable men, as far as it is possible to form a judgment of them at the distance at which inexorable opinion holds them from all distinguished society.

Seeking always, as far as is practicable, my arms in the camps of the enemy, I shall not pass over in silence the striking testimony of the same Russian prelate I have already quoted. We shall see what he thought of the discipline of his Church on the point of celibacy. This testimony bears with it all the weight we can possibly look for, as it not only comes to us recommended by the name of its author, but issues even from the presses of the *Holy Synod*.

After having repelled, in the first chapter of his *Prolegomena*, an indecent attack of Mosheim, the Archbishop de Twer continues in the following words:—

“I believe, then, that marriage was never allowed to the doctors of the Church (the priests), except in cases of necessity, and of great necessity; when, for instance, the subjects who present themselves, in order to fulfil those functions, not having fortitude to deny themselves marriage, which they desire, *better and more worthy cannot be found*; so that the Church, after these incontinent persons have taken wives to themselves, admits them to holy orders *by accident* rather than by choice.”^a

Who would not be struck by this decision of a man in such a favourable position for examining minutely what he treats of, and so hostile, besides, to the Catholic system?

^a Quo quidem cognito non erit difficile intellectu, an et quomodo doctoribus Ecclesiæ permissa sint conjugia. Scilicet, meâ quidem sententiâ, NON permissa UNQUAM, præterquam si necessitas obvenerit, eaque magna; uti sicut ii (sic) qui ad hoc munus præstò sunt ab usu matrimonii temperare sibi nequeant atque hoc expetant, meliores verò dignioresque desint: ideoque Ecclesiæ tales INTEMPERANTES, postquam uxores duxerint, casu potius non delectu, sacro ordini adsciscat.—Met. Arch. Twer. liber historicus, &c. prol. ch. i. p. 6.

It must be observed that the archbishop speaks always in the present tense, and that he obviously has in view the customs of his own Church, such as he beheld them in his time. This Greek oracle will no doubt appear—Πολλων ανταξιον αλλων.

Although it would have cost me too much to dwell at length on the consequences of the contrary system, I cannot, however, avoid insisting on the absolute nullity of that priesthood, in its relation with the conscience of man. That wonderful influence which checked Theodosius at the entrance of the church, Attila at the gates of Rome, and Louis XIV. before the holy table; that power, still more wonderful, which can soften the heart of the hardened sinner, and restore it to life; which enters palaces, and brings from thence the gold of the affluent—let them be never so unfeeling or distracted—to pour it into the lap of indigence; which encounters and surmounts all difficulties, whenever there is question of consoling, of enlightening, of saving a soul;—which speaks gently but irresistibly to consciences, discovers their fatal secrets, to pluck out, together with them, the very roots of vice; the organ and guardian of holy unions; the ever-active enemy of every species of licentiousness; mild, without weakness; terrible, but loving; invaluable supplement of reason, of probity, of honour, of all the powers of man, at the moment they declare themselves powerless; precious and inexhaustible source of reconciliation, of reparations, of restitutions, of efficacious repentance, of all that God most loves after innocence itself; at his post by the cradle of man, dispensing benedictions; and still at his post when standing near his death-bed, he says to him, in the midst of the most pathetic exhortations and the most affectionate adieus, “DEPART, CHRISTIAN SOUL.” . . . This supernatural power is nowhere to be found apart from unity. I have studied leisurely such Christianity as exists beyond this Divine pale. Its priesthood is powerless, and trembles before those whom it ought to inspire with salutary dread. To him who comes to say, “*I have stolen,*” it dares not say, “*Restore.*” The most abominable sinner owes it no promise; the priest is employed like a machine. We might suppose that his words are a kind of mechanical operation for effacing sins, as material stains are made to disappear by the application of soap; but, in order to appreciate, one must have witnessed such a state of things.

The moral state of the man who has recourse to the ministry of the priest is so indifferent in those countries, and is made so little account of, that it is quite common to hear people ask one another in conversation: "*Have you been to your Easter devotions?*" This is a question like any other, to which the ready answer is *yes* or *no*, as if it were merely the case of a walk or a visit, which depends entirely on the will of him who goes to walk or to see his friends.

Women, in their relations with this priesthood, cannot fail to be an object of notice to all observers.

The curse is inevitable. Every married priest will always fall below his character. The incontestable superiority of the Catholic clergy depends entirely^a on the law of celibacy.

The learned authors of the British Library have ventured on a startling assertion in regard to this subject, which requires to be quoted and examined.

"If the ministers of the Catholic worship," say they, "had more generally possessed the spirit of their state, in the true sense of the word, attacks against religion would not have proved so successful. . . . Fortunately for the cause of religion, of morals, and the happiness of a numerous population, the English clergy, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, *is far otherwise respectable*, and it presents not to the enemies of public worship either the same reasons or the same pretexts."^b

One might search a thousand volumes and not meet with anything so rash; it only furnishes, however, a new proof of the terrible sway of prejudice over some of the ablest minds, and some of the most estimable men.

In the first place, I am at a loss to know in what way the comparison is at all applicable; it can have no foundation whatever, unless priesthood be opposed to priesthood. Now, there is no longer any priesthood in the Pro-

^a *Uniquement*. It is to be regretted, this word cannot be translated by "in a great measure," or "in a high degree."

^b Biblioth. Britann. on the *Inquirer* of Mr. Godwin, March, 1798, No. 53, p. 282.

testant Churches ; the *priest* has disappeared together with the *sacrifice* ; and it is very remarkable, that wherever the Reformation was established, language, the unerring interpreter of conscience, immediately abolished the word *priest*, insomuch that, so early as the time of Bacon, this word was taken for a kind of insult.* When, therefore, there is mention of the *clergy* of England, Scotland, &c., the expression is not correct ; for there is no longer *clergy* when there are no longer *clergymen* ; just as the military state no longer exists when there are no military. The comparison, therefore, is quite as good as if the parish priests of France and Italy had been compared to the bar-risters or medical practitioners of England and Scotland.

But in giving to this word *clergy* all possible latitude, and holding it to be applicable to every body of ministers of a Christian worship, the immense superiority of the Catholic clergy, in merit as well as in consideration, is as evident as the light of the sun.

It may even be observed that these two kinds of superiority resolve into one ; for as regards a body such as the Catholic clergy, great consideration is inseparable from great merit ; and, what is very remarkable, this consideration is attributed to it, even in separated nations ; for conscience awards it, and conscience is an incorruptible judge.

Even the censures that are addressed to the Catholic priesthood prove their superiority. Voltaire admirably says : “ The life of secular men has always been more vicious than that of priests ; but the disorders of the latter have always been more remarkable, from their contrast with the rule.”^b

Nothing is forgiven them, because everything is expected of them.

The same rule obtains from the Sovereign Pontiff to the sacristan. Every member of the Catholic clergy is con-

* “ I think that the use of the word *priest* ought not to be continued, particularly in cases in which the persons to whom it is applied take offence at it.” (Bacon, Works, tom. iv. p. 472. Christianity of Bacon, tom. ii. p. 241.) The advice of Bacon has been followed. In the English language, and conversation, the word *priest* is scarcely to be found, except in *priestcraft*.

^b Volt. Essai sur les Mœurs, &c. in 8vo. tom. iii. ch. cxii.

stantly confronted with his ideal character, and consequently judged without mercy. His peccadilloes, even, are grievous misdeeds; whilst, on the other side, crimes are only slight offences, quite the same as among people of the world. What is a minister of the "reformed" worship? A man clothed in black, who ascends a pulpit every Sunday, to deliver a polite discourse. Every honest man may succeed in this profession, and it excludes no weakness of the *honest man*. I have narrowly examined this class of men; above all, I have interrogated, in regard to these evangelical ministers, the opinion immediately around them, and this opinion even I have found to agree with our own in awarding them no superiority of character.

Ce qu'ils peuvent n'est rien ; ils sont ce que nous sommes,
Véritablement hommes,
Et vivent comme nous.

Nothing more than probity is required of them. But what is this merely human virtue for the formidable ministry which requires *probity divinized*—that is, *sanctity*? I might here show how I could be borne out in this statement by celebrated examples and piquant anecdotes; but this is a matter I wish to treat as if I were treading on burning coals. Let one great fact suffice, because it is public, and cannot be gainsaid: the fact of the universal decline in public opinion of the Protestant evangelical ministry. The evil is of ancient date, and is traceable to the early days of the "Reformation." The celebrated Lesdiguières, who resided long on the frontiers of the duchy of Savoy, highly esteemed and saw frequently St. Francis of Sales, at that time bishop of Geneva. The Protestant ministers, shocked at such a friendship, resolved to address an admonition in due form to the noble warrior, who was then, moreover, the chief of their party. Whoever desires to know what happened, and what was said on that occasion, may read the whole history in one of our ascetic works, which enjoys a tolerable circulation.* For my part, I am not copying.

* Spirit of St. Francis of Sales, collected from the writings of M. de Camus, Bishop of Belley, in 8vo. part iii. ch. xxiii.

England is pointed to ; but it is in England particularly that the degradation of the evangelical ministry is most obvious. The property of the clergy is almost all become the patrimony of the junior members of good families, who amuse themselves in the world, like the people of the world, leaving, moreover, *to hired substitutes the task of praising God.*^a

The bench of bishops in the House of Peers is a kind of superfluity which might be removed without occasioning the least inconvenience. These prelates scarcely venture to speak even on matters connected with religion. The clergy of the second order is excluded from the national representation, and, in order to keep them always at a distance from it, recourse is had to an historical subtlety which a breath of the legislature might have removed long ago, if opinion did not, as is obvious, repel them. Not only is the clerical order lowered in public opinion, it is also mistrustful even of itself. Frequently has the English ecclesiastic been known, ashamed of his state, to efface from public writings the fatal letter^b which precedes his name and denotes his character. Frequently also has he been seen disguised in a layman's dress, and sometimes, even, in military garb, figuring in drawing-rooms abroad, with his harlequin sword.

At the time (1805) when in England was agitated with so much noise and solemnity the question of *Catholic emancipation*, ecclesiastics were spoken of in parliament with such bitterness, such harshness, and such decided mistrust, that strangers were, beyond comparison, more surprised than the ordinary audience.^c

It must be said also that there is, even in the character of this *evangelical militia*, something that forbids confi-

^a A des chantres gagés le soin de louer Dieu.

^b R. initial of Reverend.

^c A member of the House of Commons observed, meanwhile, that there was something strange in this kind of general railing against the ecclesiastical order. If I am not mistaken, this member was Mr. Stephens ; but as I took no written note on this point, I affirm nothing, except that the remark was made.

dence and invokes discredit. There is no authority, no rule, and consequently no common belief in their churches. They themselves acknowledge with perfect candour, "that the Protestant ecclesiastic is not obliged to subscribe any confession of faith whatever, except for the sake of public repose and tranquillity, *without any other object* than to maintain between the members of the same community EXTERNAL union; but that in other respects none of these confessions can be considered, properly speaking, a rule of faith. Protestants recognize no other than the Holy Scripture."^a

When, therefore, one of these preachers goes to preach, what means has he of proving that he believes what he says? and what means has he, moreover, of knowing that his audience is not making light of him? I cannot avoid thinking I hear every one of his hearers saying to him with a sceptic grin, "TRULY, I BELIEVE THAT HE BELIEVES THAT I BELIEVE HIM."^b

One of the most hardened fanatics that ever existed, Warburton, founded, at his death, a chair, to prove that the Pope is *Antichrist*.^c To the shame of our unfortunate nature, this chair has not yet been vacant. There was seen advertised in the English newspapers of this year

^a Considerations on the Studies necessary for those who aspire to the Holy Ministry, by Cl. Ces. Chavanne, Min. du S. Ev. et Prof. en Théol. à l'Acad. de Lausanne. Yverdon, 1771, in 8vo. pp. 105, 106.

^b *I' credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse.*—Dante, *Infern.* xiii. 25.

^c The name of Warburton brings to my recollection, that among his works is found an edition of Shakspeare, with a preface and commentary. Nobody, doubtless, will behold in this anything reprehensible on the part of a man of letters; but, let us imagine, if we can, *Christophe de Beaumont*, for instance, editor and commentator of *Corneille* or of *Molière*. The idea is impossible. Why? Because there is question of a man of quite another order than Warburton. Both wear the mitre. Nevertheless, the one is a pontiff, the other merely a gentleman. The former may be made ridiculous, or even be stigmatized, by what does no harm to the latter.

It is well known that when Telemachus appeared, Bossuet did not find the work *sufficiently serious for a priest*. I am far from saying that he was right, I only observe that Bossuet said so.

(1817), a discourse delivered on account of the foundation. I do not at all believe in the good faith of Warburton ; but, although it were possible on the part of one man, how imagine a succession of extravagant persons all gone wrong in the same way—all raving in sincerity ? Common sense totally rejects such a conclusion ; so that, without the least doubt, several, perhaps all, will have spoken for money against their conscience. Only fancy a *Pitt*, a *Fox*, a *Burke*, a *Grey*, a *Granville*, or other minds of the like calibre, attending one of these sermons ! Not only must the preacher be lost in their estimation, discredit will also reflect upon the whole order of preachers.

I speak here of a particular case ; but there are many other causes which wound the character of the dissenting ecclesiastic, and lower him in opinion. It is impossible that men, habitually mistrusted, can enjoy much consideration ; never will they be looked upon by their own party, even, otherwise than as advocates paid to support a certain cause. They will never be denied talent, science, punctuality in the fulfilment of their duties ; sincerity is quite another thing.

“ The doctrine of a reformed Church,” says Gibbon, “ has nothing in common with the knowledge or the belief of those who are connected with it, and the modern clergy subscribe, with a sigh or a smile, the forms of orthodoxy and established symbols. *The predictions of the Catholics have come to be fulfilled.* The Arminians, the Arians, the Socinians, whose numbers cannot be calculated according to their respective congregations, have broken and rejected the connected series of the mysteries of revelation.”

Gibbon here expresses the universal opinion of enlightened Protestants in regard to their clergy. I have had many opportunities of knowing this fact, and have learned it for certain. There is, therefore, no medium for the reformed minister. If he preaches dogma, men believe that he is retailing falsehood ; if he dare not preach it, they do not believe that he is anything.

The sacred character having been wholly obliterated

from the brow of these ministers, sovereigns no longer considered them otherwise than as civil officers, whose duty it was to follow, together with the rest of the flock, under the common crook. The touching complaints uttered even by a member of this unfortunate order on the way in which temporal authority makes use of their ministry, will not be read without interest. After having declaimed, like a vulgar man, against the Catholic hierarchy, he soars of a sudden above all prejudices, and pronounces these solemn words:—

“ Protestantism has not less vilified the sacerdotal dignity.^a In order not to seem to aspire to the Catholic hierarchy, the Protestant *priests* divested themselves very speedily of all religious appearance, and placed themselves most humbly at the feet of temporal authority. Because it was by no means the vocation of the Protestant *priests* to govern the state, it ought not thence to have been concluded that it belonged to the state to rule the Church.^b The salaries which the state awards to ecclesiastics, have rendered them quite worldly. Together with their sacerdotal robes, they have cast off the spiritual character. The state has done its work, and all the evil must be laid to the charge of the

^a Thus the character is *vilified* on both sides! It is quite necessary, however, to decide either for the one or for the other; for, if the priesthood be vilified by the hierarchy and by the suppression of the hierarchy, it is clear that God has not been able to institute a priesthood; which appears to me rather too much.

^b Nowhere does the state *govern* THE CHURCH; but always and everywhere it will justly govern those who, having gone out of *the Church*, still, nevertheless, call themselves *the Church*. We must choose between the Catholic hierarchy and civil supremacy—there is no middle course. And who would dare to blame the sovereigns who establish civil unity wherever they find that no other exists? Let the separated clergy, therefore, who have no complaint to make, except against themselves, return within the pale of legitimate unity, and they will immediately resume, as if by enchantment, the high dignity from which they acknowledge themselves fallen. With what cordiality, with what joy, would we not, with our own hands, bear them into the fold! Our regard there awaits them.

Protestant clergy. It has become frivolous. The *priests* do no more than fulfil their duty as citizens. The state no longer views them in any other light than as officers of police. It has little esteem for them, and assigns to them the lowest rank amongst its officers. When religion becomes the servant of the state, it is permitted to look upon it in this degraded condition as the work of men, and even as a deception.^a In our days only have industry, diet, politics, rural economy, and police been known to enter the pulpit. The *priest* must believe that he follows out his destiny, and fulfils his duties in giving a lecture from the pulpit on the regulations of the police. He must publish in his sermons receipts against epizootia, show the necessity of vaccination, and preach on the means of prolonging human life. How, then, after this, will he set about diverting men's affections from temporal and perishable things, whilst he himself endeavours, with the sanction of government, to attach them to THE GALLEYS OF LIFE?"^b

Behold here more than I would have ventured to say from my own observations; for it costs me much, even when recriminating, to write a single unkind expression; but I believe it to be a duty to show the state of opinion as it really is. I honour sincerely the ministers of the Holy Gospel, who certainly bear a very fine title. I know, even, that a *priest* is nothing if he is not a *minister of the Holy Gospel*; but the latter, in his turn, is nothing if he is not a *priest*. Let him listen, therefore, to the truth which is told him, not only without anger, but even with love. *Every teaching body, when it is no longer possible to believe in its good faith, necessarily falls, even in the opinion of its own party, and disdain, mistrust, and estrangement increase in proportion.* If the Protestant ecclesiastic is more considered and less a stranger to society than the clergy of the Churches

^a Exactly what has been above remarked; and it is a subject presenting an inexhaustible source of useful reflections.

^b *On the True Character of the Evangelical Priest*, by Professor Marheineze, at Heidelberg, printed in the Patriotic Museum of the Germans, at Hamburg.

that are only schismatical, it is because he is *less a priest*; the degree of degradation being always in proportion to the intensity of the sacerdotal character.

There is no question, therefore, of vainly praising oneself, or of still more vainly preferring oneself to others; we must hear truth and do it homage.

Did not Rousseau write to a French lady: "I naturally love your clergy as much as I hate those of the opposite side. I have many friends among the clergy of France," &c. ?^a

He is still more amiable in his *Lettres de la Montagne*, where he tells us the secret, "That the ministers no longer know what they believe, nor what they aim at, nor what they say; that even what they pretend to believe is not known; and that interest alone determines their faith."^b

The celebrated Hellenist, M. Fred. Aug. Wolff, observes, with admirable wisdom, in his *Prolegomena to Homer*, "that a book, being once consecrated by public custom, veneration prevents us from seeing in it things that are absurd or ridiculous; that whatever does not appear tolerable to individual reason, is softened down and embellished by suitable interpretations; that the more ingenuity and science are shown in such explications, the more religion is thought to be promoted; that this practice has always prevailed in regard to books which pass for sacred; and that if *this measure* is adopted in order to render the book useful to the majority of the people, *no fault can be found with it.*"^c

This passage is an excellent commentary on the words just quoted from Rousseau, and fully unfolds the secret of Protestant teaching. A book might be made of such-like texts; and, by a necessary consequence, another might be compiled from the marks of coldness or contempt showered upon the ecclesiastical order by the various Protestant sovereigns.

^a *Lettres de J. J. Rousseau*, in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 201.

^b The same, *Seconde Lettre de la Montagne*.

^c Fred. Aug. Wolfii *Prolegomena in Homerum*. Halis Sax-onum, 1795, tom. i. No. 36, p. clxiii.

One decides that he has "thought fit to cause to be composed a new liturgy more conformable to the teaching of pure religion, public edification, and the spirit of the present age; and that several motives have determined him not to suffer that ecclesiastics should in any way interfere with the composition of these new liturgical formulas." ^a

Another forbids all the ministers and preachers of his states to employ the formula, *May the Lord bless you, &c.*, "considering," says the prince, "that ecclesiastics themselves have need of the Divine benediction, and that it is arrogant on the part of a mortal to pretend to speak in the name of Providence." ^b

What a priesthood! and what a state of opinion! I have studied this opinion in books, in conversation, in the acts of sovereignty, and I have always found it invariably hostile to the ecclesiastical order. I can even add (and God knows I speak truth), that a thousand and a thousand times, in contemplating these ministers, illegitimate, no doubt, and justly stricken, but notwithstanding less rebels themselves than children of rebels, and victims of those tyrant prejudices,

"Which, perhaps, from our minds God only can efface;"

I beheld in our own clergy a tender interest, a fraternal sadness, a delicate and reverent compassion, and, in fine, I know not what undefinable feeling, which I was far from witnessing among their own brethren.

If the writers I have quoted at the commencement of this treatise had been satisfied with affirming *that the Catholic clergy would probably have avoided great misfortunes if they had been more alive to the duties of their*

^a *Journal de Paris*, Wednesday, 21st December, 1808, No. 556, p. 2573. It is a strange thing, it must be owned, to find the ecclesiastical order declared incapable of interfering in ecclesiastical affairs.

^b *Journal de l'Empire*, 17th October, 1809, p. 4 (sous la rubrique de Francfort, du 11 Octobre). By the same reason, a father would be arrogant if he presumed to bless his son! What powerful reasoning! But it is only chicanery made use of against the clergy, who are not liked.

state, I doubt whether they would have found any to contradict them, even among these clergy themselves, for no Catholic priest presumes that he is in every respect equal to his sublime functions ; he will always entertain the belief that there is something wanting to him ; but, in condemning certain shortcomings—the unavoidable fruit of prolonged peace—it is not less true that the Catholic clergy remain matchless in point of conduct, and the consideration which attends it. This is so strikingly the case, that it can only be called in question through wilful blindness.

It is fortunate, no doubt, that in our days experience of the most glorious kind has come to the aid of a theory, otherwise, indeed, incontestable ; and that, after having demonstrated what ought to be, I have it in my power to point out what really is. What a spectacle have not the French clergy, dispersed over all nations, presented to the world ! In presence of their virtues, what becomes of all the declamations of their enemies ? The French priest, free from all authority, frequently in the full strength of youth and passion, driven among nations strangers to his austere discipline, and who would have applauded what we would have called crimes, remained, nevertheless, steadfastly faithful to his vows. By what force, then, was he sustained, and how did he show himself superior to the weaknesses of humanity ? He won, especially, the esteem of the English people, who can so well appreciate talents and virtue, and who, in the event of the least failings, would have been inexorable accusers. The man who would enter an English house as physician, surgeon, or teacher, crosses not the threshold if unmarried. A jealous prudence mistrusts every man whose affections have not a fixed and lawful object. We would say that it does not believe in resistance, so much does it dread attack. The priest alone has been able to escape this suspicious delicacy, and has entered English houses on the very grounds which would have excluded other men. A sentiment of rancorous hatred of three hundred years' duration, could not stifle in the minds of men, the belief in the sanctity of religious

celibacy. Disquietude gave place to tranquillity, in consideration of the sacerdotal character, *so great, so striking, so thoroughly inimitable,*^a like that of truth from which it emanates. And such an Englishman, perhaps, who had frequently spoken or written according to his prejudices, against ecclesiastical celibacy, beheld, without apprehension, his wife or his daughter receive instructions from a Catholic priest; so infallible is conscience, so little does it trouble itself about what the mind imagines or the mouth utters!

Women, even, devoted to this same celibacy, have participated in the same glory. How loudly had not philosophism declaimed against forced vows and the *victims of the cloister.*^b And, nevertheless, when an assembly of fools, who did their best to be villains,^c afforded themselves the sacrilegious pleasure of declaring vows illegitimate, and of opening the cloisters, it was necessary to pay, I know not what impudent creature from the streets, to come to the bar of the Assembly, and act the part of the emancipated nun.

The religious women of France emulated the intrepidity of the priests in the prisons and on the scaffold, and those whom the revolutionary tempest had dispersed among foreign nations, and even in America, far from yielding to the most dangerous seducements, were everywhere admired for their attachment to their state of life, their

^a Well-known expressions of Rousseau, *à propos* of the marks of truth displayed throughout the Gospel.

^b These foolish declamations are found, as is well known, collected and *condensed* in the *Mélanie* of La Harpe. In vain did the author, after his return to truth, apply with the greatest earnestness, to have his work removed from the repertory; he was obstinately denied, and this want of delicacy reflects on the French nation far more than is supposed. *It is of no consequence*, it will say. *It is of great consequence.* This example adds its weight to the new edition of Voltaire, to the stereotyped impression of Joan of Arc, invariably advertised in all catalogues together with the Discourse on Universal History and the Funeral Orations of Bossuet, &c. &c.

^c The mild expressions of Burke, in his letter to D. D. B., speaking of the National Assembly.

respect for their vows, and the voluntary exercise of every virtue.

This holy, this noble church of Gaul, has perished,^a and we would be inconsolable for its loss, if *the Lord had not left us a germe.*^b

The high nobility of the Catholic clergy is entirely due to celibacy; and this severe institution, being solely the work of the Popes, inwardly animated and guided by a spirit in regard to which conscience cannot be deceived, all the glory of it is attributable to them, and they must be considered by all competent judges the real founders of the priesthood.

III.—POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Error, always increasing its strength in proportion to the importance of the truths it assails, exhausted itself in opposing religious celibacy, and after having attacked it on the ground of morality, it failed not to arraign it before the tribunal of policy, as contrary to population. This sophistry, however, had been triumphantly refuted. Already had Bacon, notwithstanding the prejudices peculiar to his time and his sect, directed attention to some signal advantages of celibacy.^c Already had the economists maintained, and sufficiently well proved, that the legislator ought never to concern himself directly about population, but only about the means of subsistence. Already had several writers among the clergy repelled the attacks made against their order, in respect of population. But it is a singular and piquant circumstance, that that hidden power, which *sports in the universe*, has made use of a Protestant pen to furnish the rigid demonstration of a truth contested so much, and so little to the purpose.

I speak of *Mr. Malthus*, whose profound work on the *principle of population*, is one of those rare books, after which all are dispensed from treating the same subject.

^a Written soon after the great revolution.

^b *Isaias* i. 9.

^c *Sermones Fideles, &c.* cviii.—Op. tom. x.

No writer before him, I believe, had clearly and fully proved the great temporal law of Divine Providence, *that not only every man is not born to marry, but that, also, in every well-regulated state, there must be a law, a principle, some power, which shall oppose the multiplication of marriages.* Malthus observes that the increase of the means of subsistence, in the most favourable supposition, being inferior to that of population in the enormous proportion of the two progressions respectively, the one arithmetical, the other geometrical, it follows that the state, by virtue of this disproportion, is held in constant danger, if the population be left to itself; which renders necessary the repressing power of which I have just spoken.

But the number of marriages in a state can only be restricted in three ways,—by vice, by violence, or by morality. As no legislator can contemplate either of the two first ways, there remains only the third, which is, *that there must be in the state a moral principle constantly tending to limit the number of marriages.*

And such is the difficult problem which the Church, in other words the Sovereign Pontiff, has solved by the law of ecclesiastical celibacy, as perfectly as is consistent with the state of human things; for this *Catholic restriction* is not only *moral*, but *Divine*, and the Church founds it on motives so sublime, on means so efficacious, and on menaces so terrible, that it is not possible for the human mind to imagine anything equal to it, or at all approaching it.

Hail then to Gregory VII.! eternal honour to this Pontiff and his successors, who have maintained the priesthood inviolate against all the sophisms of nature, of example, and of heresy.

CHAPTER IV.

FOUNDING OF EUROPEAN MONARCHY.

MAN is incapable of admiring what he beholds every day. Instead of extolling our monarchy, which is a mi-

raclé, we call it *despotism*, and we speak of it as of something ordinary, which has always existed, and which merits no particular attention.

The ancients opposed the reign of laws to that of kings, as they would have opposed republicanism to despotism. "Some nations," says Tacitus, "tired of their kings, preferred laws."^a We have the good fortune not to understand this opposition, which is nevertheless quite real, and will always be so without Christianity.

The nations of antiquity never doubted, any more than infidel nations doubt to-day, that the right of life and death belonged directly to sovereigns. It is superfluous to prove this truth, as it is written in letters of blood on every page of history. The first rays of Christianity did not as yet undeceive mankind on this point, since, according to the doctrine of the great St. Augustine himself, the soldier who does not kill when his legitimate prince commands him, is not less guilty than he who kills without orders.^b Hence, we see that this great and fine mind had not yet conceived the idea of a new public law, which would deprive kings of the power to judge.

But Christianity, so to speak, disseminated over the earth, could only prepare men's minds, and its great political effects could only be carried out when the pontifical authority having attained its just dimensions, the power of this religion should be concentrated in the hands of one man as an inseparable condition of its exercise. It was necessary, besides, that the Roman empire should disappear. Putrefied even to its remotest fibres, it was no longer worthy to receive the divine graft. Meanwhile, the robust wild stock of the north was advancing, and whilst it should trample under foot the ancient domination, the Popes were destined to grapple with it, and without ever ceasing either to caress or to combat it, to make of it in the end what never had had its equal in the world.

^a *Quidam regum pertæsi leges maluerunt.*—Tacit.

^b St. August. *De Civit. Dei*, 1, 29. Elsewhere, he further says: *Reum regem facit iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem militem ostendit ordo serviendi.*—Idem, *contra Faustum*.

From the time that the new sovereignties began to be established, the Church ceased not, through the Popes, to announce to the nations these words of God in the Scriptures, "By me kings reign," and to kings, "Judge not, that you may not be judged," in order to establish at the same time the *divine* right of sovereignty, and the *divine* right of the people.

"The Church," Pascal admirably says, "forbids her children, still more strongly than the laws of the state, to take justice into their own hands; and, agreeably to her teaching, Christian kings refrain from doing so, even in cases of the crime of lese-majesty against the head of the state, and hand over criminals to competent judges, in order that they may be punished according to the laws and the forms of justice."^a

Not that the Church ever issued any formal decree on this subject. I know not even if it could have done so, for there are things which must be left in a certain respectable obscurity, without attempting to render them clearer by express laws. Kings, no doubt, have often, and too often, directly ordered punishments; but the spirit of the Church, always calmly advancing, won to itself opinion, and stigmatized such acts of sovereignty as solemn murders, more abominable, and not less criminal, than those of the highways.

But how would the Church have been able to gain any concessions from monarchy, if monarchy itself had not been prepared, softened, and, I hesitate not to say, sweetened by the Popes? What could each prelate do? what even could each individual Church effect in opposition to its master? Nothing. To accomplish this great work, there was necessary, not a human, physical, material power (for, in this case, there might have been temporal abuses), but a spiritual and moral power, which should reign only in opinion: such was the power of the Popes. No candid and uncorrupted mind will fail to acknowledge the action of Providence in this universal opinion, which took posses-

^a In the Provincial Letters.

sion of Europe, and pointed out to all its inhabitants the Sovereign Pontiff as the source of European sovereignty, because the same authority, acting everywhere, effaced national differences as far as it was possible to do so, and because there is nothing which so powerfully tends to promote union among men as religious unity. Providence had confided to the Popes the education of European sovereignty. But how *educate* without chastising? Hence, so many shocks, so many attacks, sometimes partaking too much of human weakness, and so much ferocious resistance; but the *Divine* principle was not less present always, acting always, and always manifest. It was so, especially, by that wonderful character I have already pointed out, but which cannot be too often remarked, *that all action of the Popes against sovereigns redounded to the advantage of sovereignty*. Never acting otherwise than as Divine delegates, even when struggling against monarchs, they ceased not to admonish the subject that he could do nothing against his rulers. Immortal benefactors of mankind, they contended at the same time for the Divine character of sovereignty, and for the legitimate liberty of men. The people, quite strangers to every kind of resistance, could not either grow proud or emancipate themselves, and the sovereigns, bending only under a Divine power, preserved all their dignity. Frederick, under the foot of the Pontiff, may have been an object of terror, or perhaps of compassion, but not of contempt, any more than David, prostrate before the angel deputed to bear to him the scourges of the Lord.

The Popes educated the monarchy of Europe in its youth; they literally *made* it, as Fenelon *made* the Duke of Burgundy. There was question on either side of extirpating a great feature, an element of ferocity, which would have spoiled all. Whatever constrains man, fortifies him. He cannot obey without being improved; and, by the very act of overcoming himself, he becomes better. Such a man will triumph over the most violent passion at thirty years of age, because at five or six he will have been taught willingly to forego a plaything or a sweetmeat. As in the

case of a well-educated individual, so has it been in regard to monarchy. The constant efforts of the Church, directed by the Sovereign Pontiff, have effected what was never before seen, and what will never be witnessed wherever this authority is not acknowledged. Imperceptibly, without threats, without laws, without combats, without violence, and without resistance, the great European charter was proclaimed, not on perishable paper, not by the voice of public criers, but in all European hearts at that time Catholic.

Kings abdicate the power of judging by themselves, and the people, in return, declare kings INFALLIBLE AND INVIO-
LIABLE.

Such is the fundamental law of European monarchy, and it is the work of the Popes—an unheard-of wonder, contrary to the *natural* nature of man, contrary to all facts of precedent history, which no man in ancient times had dreamed was possible; and the most conspicuous Divine character of which is, that it has become common.

The Christian peoples who have not felt, or who have not sufficiently felt, the hand of the Sovereign Pontiff, will never possess this monarchy. In vain will they exert themselves under an arbitrary power; in vain will they strive to walk in the footsteps of nations that have been ennobled, ignorant that, before making laws for a people, they must make a people for the laws. All efforts will not only be vain, but fatal; like Ixion of old, they will provoke the anger of God, and grasp only a cloud. To be admitted to the European banquet, to be rendered worthy of that admirable sceptre, which never was efficient except in nations that were prepared; to arrive, in fine, at that goal so ridiculously indicated by an impotent philosophy,—all routes are false, save only that by which we have been conducted.

The nations which have remained sufficiently under the influence of the Sovereign Pontiff to receive this impress of Divinity, but who have, unfortunately, allowed it to be obliterated, will also furnish a proof of the great truth I am maintaining; but this proof will be of quite an opposite

character. Among the first (the nations that have never sufficiently known the Pontifical power), the people will never obtain their rights; among the latter, the sovereign will lose his; and hence will arise their return.

Kings encouraged, three centuries ago, the great rebellion which had in view the plunder of the Church.* They will yet be seen reconducting their people within the pale of unity, in order to reconsolidate their thrones, shaken to their foundations by the new doctrines.

Union in different degrees, and under different forms of government, and in different states of the priesthood, was always too general in the world not to be Divine. Between civil government and the priesthood there is a natural affinity; they must unite, or sustain one another. If the one withdraws, the other suffers.

. Alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicè.

Every European nation, when withdrawn from the influence of the Holy See, will be inevitably borne towards servitude or rebellion. The just equilibrium which distinguishes European monarchy can only be the effect of the superior cause I am pointing out.

This wonderful balance of power is such, that it gives to the prince all the authority which does not admit of actual tyranny, and to the people all the liberty which does not exclude indispensable obedience. Thus, power is immense, without being inordinate, and obedience is perfect, without being mean. This is the only government suited to men of all times and all places; all other forms are only exceptions. Wherever the sovereign, not having power to inflict directly any punishment, is not himself *amenable* in any case, and is responsible to nobody, there

* Hume, who, having no belief, was under no restraint, acknowledges, without intending to be complimentary, that the real ground of the Reformation, was the desire "TO STEAL the silver plate and all the ornaments of the altars."—*A pretence for making spoil of the plate, vestures, and rich ornaments belonging to the altars.*—Hume's Hist. of Eng. Elizabeth, ch. xl. ann. 1568.

is sufficient power and sufficient liberty; the rest is of little importance.*

There is much said about Turkish despotism; and, nevertheless, this despotism all resolves into the power of punishing *directly*; in other words, the power to *assassinate*,—the only power of which universal opinion deprives the Christian king; for it is highly important that our princes should be persuaded of a truth they little suspect, and which, notwithstanding, is incontestable: it is, that they are incomparably more powerful than Asiatic princes. The sultan may be legally deposed and put to death by a decree of the Mollas and Uthemas united.^b He could not cede a province, or even a single town, without exposing his head; he cannot dispense with going to the mosque on Friday; invalid sultans have been known to make a last exertion to mount on horseback, and fall dead by the way; he cannot preserve a male child born in his house out of the direct line of succession; he cannot reverse the sentence of a *cadi*; he cannot interfere with a religious establishment, nor with the property gifted to a mosque, &c.

If there were offered to one of our princes the *sublime* right of ordering men to the gallows, on condition that he himself should be liable to be arraigned before a court, deposed, or put to death, I doubt whether he would accept; and, nevertheless, he would only be offered what we call the *omnipotence* of the sultans.

When we hear speak of the bloody catastrophes which have cost so many of these princes their lives, judging these events according to our ideas, we behold in them plots, assassinations, revolutions; there is nothing more erroneous. Of the whole Ottoman dynasty, only one

* The right of self-taxation, for instance, about which so much noise is made, is certainly of no great consequence. The nations which enjoy this privilege are always the most highly taxed. It is quite the same as regards co-legislation. The laws will be at least as good, wherever there is only one legislator.

^b These two bodies are much the same as what the clergy and magistracy are amongst us.

perished illegally by an undoubted insurrection ; but this crime is viewed at Constantinople just as we view the assassination of Charles I. or that of Louis XIV. The company or Horta of Janissaries who were guilty of the deed, was suppressed, whilst its name was preserved and devoted to eternal ignominy. At each review, it is called in its turn, and, when its name is pronounced, a public officer replies, in a loud voice, "*It is no more ! it is accursed,*" &c. &c.

In general, these executions, which terminate so many reigns, are acknowledged by the law. We have seen a memorable instance of this in the death of the amiable Selim, the last victim of this terrible public law. Wearied of power, he desired to hand it over to his uncle, who said to him, "Take care what you do ; the factions are fatiguing you ; but, when you are reduced to a private station, another faction may very possibly recall you to the throne, that is, to death." Selim persisted, and the prophecy was accomplished. Soon after his abdication, a powerful faction having undertaken to replace him on the throne, a *feſta* of the divan caused him to be strangled. The decree addressed to the sovereign in such cases much resembles that which the Roman senate addressed to the consuls at moments of danger—*Videant consules, &c.*

Wherever the sovereign exercises the power of punishing *directly*, it is necessary that he be liable to be judged, deposed, and put to death ; and if there be no fixed law on this point, the murder of a sovereign must neither alarm nor anywise shock the imagination ; it is necessary even that the authors of these terrible executions should not be stigmatized by public opinion, and that the youths who organize themselves for such purposes agree to bear the names of their fathers. And such is, in fact, the case ; for whatever is necessary exists.

Opinion is what it ought to be. It requires that men in certain circumstances should be able without dishonour to lay violent hands on the prince who is invested with the right to inflict death.

By a quite contrary reason, opinion as well as law ought

to crush every man that dares lay hands on the monarch who is declared inviolable. The name, even, of *regicide* disappears, stifled under the load of infamy; when it is otherwise, the dignity of the victim appears sometimes to ennoble the murder.

CHAPTER V.

HOW LONG PRINCES COMMONLY LIVE. SECRET ALLIANCE OF RELIGION AND OF SOVEREIGNTY.

IN reading history, one would be tempted to believe that violent death is natural to princes, and that as regards them, natural death is the exception.

Of thirty emperors who reigned during two centuries and a half, from Augustus to Valerian, six only died a natural death. In France, from Clovis to Dagobert, in a period of one hundred and fifty years, more than forty kings or princes of the blood-royal perished by a violent death.^a

And is it not deplorable that in these latter times it has been possible to say also, "If in the space of two centuries we find in France ten monarchs or dauphins, three are assassinated, three perish by means secretly prepared, and the last dies upon the scaffold."^b

The historian (Garnier) just quoted considers it certain that the lives of princes are ordinarily shorter than those of the generality of men, on account of the great number of violent deaths which usually terminate these royal lives:—"Whether," he adds, "this general shortness of the lives of kings arise from the embarrassments and chagrins of the

^a Garnier, *Hist. de Charlemagne*, tom. i. in 12mo. introd. ch. ii. p. 219. Passage rappelé par M. Bernardi, dans son ouvrage de *l'Origine et des Progrès de la Législation Française*.—*Journal des Débats*, 2 Août, 1816.

^b For the terrible dissertation from which this quotation is taken, see the *Journal de Paris*, July, 1793, No. 183. The author appears, nevertheless, to have died in the full possession of his senses. *Sit tibi terra levis!*

throne, or from the fatal facility kings and princes possess of satisfying all their passions." ^a

First thoughts are in favour of this observation ; nevertheless, on examining the matter very minutely, I have been led to quite a different conclusion.

It appears that the ordinary life of man is much about twenty-seven years. ^b

On the other hand, if we relied on the calculations of Newton, the ordinary duration of the reigns of kings would be found to be from eighteen to twenty years ; and I think that this estimate would be attended with no difficulty, if no distinction were made of ages and nations, in other words, of religions ; but this distinction must be made, as Sir William Jones has observed :—" In examining," says he, " the Asiatic dynasties, from the decline of the caliphate, I have found only ten or twelve years to be the common duration of reigns." ^c

Another distinguished member of the Academy of Calcutta pretends, that, according to the bills of mortality, the ordinary life of man is from thirty-two to thirty-three years, " and that, in a long succession of princes, there cannot be assigned to each reign, one with another, more than the half of this latter period, say seventeen years." ^d

This last calculation may be true, if Asiatic reigns are admitted into the common estimate ; but, as regards Europe, it would certainly be false ; for the ordinary length of European reigns exceeds, and that for a long time back, the term of twenty years, and in several Catholic states rises as high as twenty-five.

^a Garnier, *ibid.* pp. 227, 228.

^b D'Alembert, *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, Amsterdam, 1767, calcul des probab. p. 285. This same D'Alembert observes meanwhile that there were doubts as to these estimates, and that the mortuary tables *required to be prepared with more care and precision*.—*Opusc. Math.* Paris, 1768, in 4to. tom. v. on the tables of mortality, p. 231. Since that time, this has been done, I believe, with great exactness.

^c *Sir William Jones's Works*, in 4to. tom. v. p. 354.—Pref. of his *Description of Asia*.

^d Mr. Bentley, in the *Asiatic Researches*.—*Supplem. to the works quoted*, tom. ii. in 4to. p. 1035.

Let us take a middle term, thirty, between the two numbers twenty-seven and thirty-three, assigned as the common duration of the lives of sovereigns, and the number twenty, evidently too low, as all may be satisfied from their own observations, for the ordinary duration of European reigns. I ask how it is possible that the common term of life should be thirty years only, and the duration of reigns from twenty-two to twenty-five, if princes (I speak of Christian princes) did not enjoy a longer life than the rest of men? This consideration would prove what has always appeared to me infinitely probable, that truly royal families are naturally different from others, as a tree is different from a shrub.

Nothing happens, nothing exists, without a sufficient reason; a family can only reign because it has more life, more of the *spirit of royalty*—in a word, more of what renders a family more fitted to reign.

It is believed that a family is royal because it reigns;—on the contrary, it reigns because it is royal.

In forming our opinion of sovereigns, we are too apt to commit an unpardonable fault, in directing our attention to some weak points of their characters or of their lives. We get upon our stilts, and say, "*See what kings are!*" whilst each of us ought to say, "*What would I myself be, if some revolutionary movement had borne one of my forefathers, even three or four generations back, to the throne? A madman, an imbecile, whom it would be necessary to get rid of at any cost.*"

Kings, unfortunately, are condemned by Providence to pass their lives, *Stylites*-like, on the top of a pillar, without having it in their power to descend from their elevation. They cannot, therefore, see so well as we do what occurs immediately below; but in return for this disadvantage, they see from a greater distance. They are gifted with a certain inward tact, an instinct, which guides them often better than the reasonings of those by whom they are surrounded. I am so persuaded of this truth, that in all doubtful matters I would always have difficulty, on *conscientious grounds* even, if I must speak plainly, in contra-

dicting, although in the way that is allowed, the will of sovereigns. After having told them the truth, as in duty bound, it remains for us only to let them do as they please, and assist them.

We are in the habit of comparing a prince to a private individual—nothing more sophistical. There are difficulties arising out of the position of sovereigns, and which, consequently, ought not to be taken into account. A reigning family must therefore be compared to a private family *supposed to be reigning*, and which would consequently be subject to the same difficulties. Now, in this supposition, there is not the least doubt as to the superiority of the former, or, to speak more correctly, the incapacity of the latter. For a family that is not royal never can reign.*

We should not, therefore, be surprised to find in royal families more life upon the whole than in all others. But this leads me to the exposition of one of the greatest oracles pronounced in the Sacred Writings :—

“ FOR THE SINS OF THE LAND, MANY ARE THE PRINCES THEREOF ; AND FOR THE WISDOM OF MEN, AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF THOSE THINGS THAT ARE SAID, THE LIFE OF THE PRINCE SHALL BE PROLONGED.”—PROV. xxviii. 2.

There is nothing so true, nothing so profound, nothing

* Legitimate sovereignty may be imitated for a time : it is susceptible also of *more or less* ; and those who have reflected much on this great subject will have no difficulty in recognizing the characters, wherever they exist, of this *more or less*, or of, it may be, the absence of everything essential to real sovereignty. If nothing is known of the origin of a sovereignty,—if it has commenced, so to speak, of itself, without violence on the one hand, as without acceptance or deliberation on the other ; if, moreover, the king is European and Catholic, he is, as Homer expresses it, *very much a king* (*βασιλευτατος*). The farther he is removed from this pattern, the less is he king. We must, particularly, count very little on races produced in the midst of tempests, raised up by force or by policy, and who especially show themselves environed, flanked, defended, consecrated, by grand fundamental laws, written on beautiful vellum, and *which have foreseen all cases*. Such races cannot last. There would be many more things to say, if it were desirable or possible to say them.

so terrible, and, unfortunately, nothing so little attended to. The connection between religion and sovereignty ought never to be lost sight of. I remember having read some time ago the following title of an English sermon: "*Sins of the government, sins of the nation.*"^a I subscribe it without having read it; the title alone is of more value than many volumes.

In comparing the sovereign races of Europe and Asia, Sir William Jones remarks, "that the nature of the wretched governments of Asia distinguishes them from ours, as regards the duration of races."^b Undoubtedly; but religion, it must be added, constitutes the difference between these governments. Mahometanism allows only ten or twelve years to its sovereigns; for, on account of the sins of the land, many are the princes thereof; and in all infidel countries there must necessarily be infinitely more crimes, and infinitely fewer virtues, than amongst us, however great a falling off there may be in our manners, since, notwithstanding this falling off, truth is constantly preached to us, *and we possess a knowledge of the things that are said to us.*

In Christian countries, therefore, the length of reigns may be computed at twenty-five years. In France, the average reign, calculated from a period of three hundred years, is twenty-five years. In Denmark, in Portugal, and in Piedmont, the average length is also twenty-five years. In Spain, it is twenty-two years; and there is, as the reader has seen, some difference between the durations of different Christian governments; but all Christian reigns are longer than all the reigns that are not Christian, both ancient and modern.

An important consideration on the duration of reigns might perhaps be taken from Protestant sovereignties,

^a *A Discourse intended for the Late Fast.*—London Chronicle, 1793, No. 5,747. It appears to me that such a title and such a subject could only have been fallen upon by a wise and luminous mind.

^b Sir William Jones's Works, tom. v. p. 533 (in the Preface to the Description of Asia).

compared with themselves before the Reformation, and with those which have not changed their faith.

The reigns of England, which were above twenty-three years before the Reformation, are, since that epoch, no longer more than seventeen. It is possible, therefore, that the law, incontestable as regards heathen nations that have been from their origin strangers to the influence of the Holy See, may likewise have shown itself in nations that have only ceased to be Catholic after having been so for a great length of time. Nevertheless, as there may be compensations that are not known, and that Denmark, for instance, by virtue of some cause, hidden, indeed, but highly creditable to the nation, does not appear to have been subject to the law by which reigns are shortened, it is proper we should wait before attempting to generalize. This law, besides, being obvious, it remains only to examine how far it extends. We cannot inquire too profoundly into the *influence of religion on the duration of reigns and dynasties*.

CHAPTER VI.

OBSERVATIONS ON RUSSIA.

WHAT a grand phenomenon Russia presents ! This empire, placed between Europe and Asia, partakes of both. Nor need she be humbled by the Asiatic element she so obviously possesses. We might rather behold in it a title to superiority ; but, as regards religion, Russia labours under very great disadvantages, such, even, as that it becomes a question whether, in the opinion of a really good judge, she be any nearer the truth than Protestant nations.

The deplorable schism of the Greeks, and the invasion of the Tartars, prevented the Russians from participating in the great movement of European and legitimate civilization which radiated from Rome. Cyrillus and Methodius,

Apostles of the Sclavi, had received their powers from the Holy See, and they had even gone to Rome to give an account of their mission.* But the chain of connection was scarcely established, when it was cut by the hands of that Photius of fatal and odious memory, whom humanity in general cannot less strongly condemn than religion itself, in regard to which he was, nevertheless, so guilty.

Russia, therefore, as it scarcely had time to feel the hand of the Sovereign Pontiffs, remained a stranger to the general influence, and could not be actuated by the spirit which was universal in other nations. Hence it happens that its religion is wholly external, and has no place in the heart. We must beware of confounding *the power of religion on man with the attachment of man to religion*,—two things which have nothing in common. Such a person who will steal all his life, without even entertaining the idea of restitution, or will live in the most guilty connection, whilst he regularly performs his devotions, may very possibly defend an image at the risk of his life, and even die rather than partake of flesh-meat on a day on which it is forbidden. *The power of religion is that which changes and elevates man,*^b by rendering him capable of a higher degree of virtue, of civilization, and of knowledge. These three things are inseparable, and the inward action of legi-

* Cyrillus and Methodius translated the liturgy into Slavonic, and caused mass to be celebrated in the language spoken by the people whom they had converted. There were, in this respect, on the part of the Popes, much resistance and great restrictions, which, unfortunately, did not produce the desired effect, as regarded the Russians. We have a letter of Pope John VIII. (the xciv.), addressed to the Duke of Moravia, *Sfentopulk*, in the year 859. He says to this prince: "We approve the Slavonic letters invented by the philosopher Constantine (the same Cyrillus just alluded to), and we command that the praises of God be sung in the Slavonic language."—See the Lives of the Saints, translated from the English; Lives of St. Cyrillus and St. Methodius, 14 Feb. in 8vo. tom. ii. p. 265. This precious book is an excellent miniature of the Bollandists.

^b *Lex Domini immaculata* CONVERTENS ANIMAS.—Ps. xviii. 8. A rabbi of Mantua said to a Catholic priest of my acquaintance, in the confidence of a tête à tête: "It must be acknowledged,

timate power is always manifested externally by the prolongation of reigns.

Few traveller authors have spoken of Russia with affection. Almost all have noticed its weak points, in order to amuse the malice of their readers. Some, even, such as Dr. Clarke, have spoken with a degree of severity which excites alarm, and Gibbon has no hesitation in calling the Russians *the most ignorant and most superstitious followers of the Greek communion.**

The people, nevertheless, are eminently brave, benevolent, spiritual, hospitable, enterprising; they imitate happily, speak elegantly, and possess a magnificent language, without the admixture of any peculiar dialects, even among the lowest orders.

The stains which disfigure this character owe their origin to the ancient government of Russia, or to its civilization, which is false; and not only is this civilization false because it is human, but also because—and in this lies the completion of misfortune—it coincided with the period of the greatest corruption of the human mind, and because circumstances have placed in contact, and, so to speak, amalgamated the Russian people with that nation which has been at once the most terrible instrument, and the most deplorable victim of this corruption.

All civilization commences with the priesthood, by religious ceremonies, by miracles, even, whether true or false. There never has been, there never will be, there never can be, any exception to this rule. And the Russians also had begun like all other peoples; but the work, unfortunately interrupted by the causes I have pointed out, there is really **A CONVERTING POWER** in your religion." Voltaire, on the other hand, has said:—

"God visited the world, but changed it not."

Désastre de Lisbonne.

Genius condemned to utter only absurdities, on account of the crime of being unfaithful to its mission, has always been to me a most gratifying spectacle. I have no pity for it. Why did it betray its Master? Why did it violate its *instructions*? Was it sent to lie?

* Hist. de la Décad. &c. tom. xiii. ch. lxvii. p. 10.

was resumed at the commencement of the eighteenth century, under the most melancholy auspices.

It was in the dregs of the regency that the deadened germe of Russian civilization began to be restored, and the first lessons this great people heard in the new language it acquired, were blasphemies.

There may now be remarked, I am aware, a movement in the opposite direction, calculated, so far, to console a friendly observer; but how efface the anathema of an earlier day? It is deeply to be regretted that the most powerful of the Slavonic families should have withdrawn through ignorance from the great constituent sceptre, to throw itself into the arms of those miserable Greeks of the low empire, those detestable sophists, prodigies of pride and nullity, whose history can only be read by a man practised in overcoming the strongest possible disgust, and who, in fine, have presented, during the period of a thousand years, the hideous spectacle of a Christian monarchy degraded to reigns of eleven years.

It is not necessary to have lived long in Russia to perceive what is wanting to its inhabitants. It is something profound, which is profoundly felt, and which the Russian himself may behold in the average reign of his rulers, which exceeds not thirteen years, whilst the Christian reign nearly reaches double this number, and will attain it ere long, or even exceed it, whenever a wise course of conduct is pursued. In vain would foreign blood, raised to the throne of Russia, believe itself entitled to entertain more exalted hopes, in vain would the most amiable virtues be contrasted on this throne with the rough manners of earlier days. Reigns are not shortened by *the faults of sovereigns*, which would be obviously unjust, but by *those of the people* (*suprà*, book iii. c. v.). In vain will the sovereigns make the noblest efforts, seconded by those of a generous people, who reckon not with their rulers, all these great endeavours of the most legitimate national pride will be null, if not fatal. The Russian cannot recall the ages that are gone; the creative; the divine sceptre, has not sufficiently rested on his head; and

in this, profoundly blinded as he is, he glories! Nevertheless, the law by which he is debased, emanates from so high a source, that it is impossible for him to avert its consequences, otherwise than by yielding it obedience. In order to rise to the level of European civilization and science, there is only one way open to him,—that from which he has turned aside.

Often has the Russian heard the voice of calumny, and too often also that of ingratitude. He was entitled, no doubt, to exclaim against those writers without delicacy, who repaid with insults the most generous hospitality; but let him not deny his confidence to sentiments of quite an opposite character. Respect, attachment, gratitude, have surely no wish to deceive him.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER PARTICULAR CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

THE Pope is invested with five characters, that are quite distinct: he is Bishop of Rome, Metropolitan of the Suburban Churches, Primate of Italy, Patriarch of the West, and, finally, Sovereign Pontiff. The Pope has never exercised over the other patriarchates any other powers than those resulting from the last-named dignity; so that, except when there occurred some affair of high importance, some signal abuse, or some appeal in a case of the greatest consequence, the Sovereign Pontiffs interfered but little in the ecclesiastical administration of the Eastern Churches; and this was most unfortunate, not only for them, but for all the states in which they were established. It may be said that the Greek Church, from its origin, carried in its bosom a germe of division, which was not completely developed till twelve centuries had elapsed, but which always existed under forms less glaring and less decisive, and which consequently could be borne with.*

* St. Basil even speaks somewhere of the pride of the Western

This religious division became still more deeply rooted through the political opposition created by the Emperor Constantine. Mutually fortifying each other, those two evils ceased not to repel the union which was so necessary, against the formidable enemies who were advancing from the east towards the north. Let us have recourse once more, on this point, to the respectable author of the *Letters on History* :^a “ It is certain,” says he, “ that if the Emperor of the East and the Emperor of the West had united their efforts, they would inevitably have driven back to the deserts of Africa those people (the Saracens), whom they must have dreaded to see established amongst them ; but there was a jealousy between the two empires which nothing could destroy, and which showed itself still more decidedly during the crusades. The schism of the Greeks imparted to them a religious antipathy against Rome, and this antipathy always continued, even though contrary to their interests.”

The truth of these remarks is very obvious. If the Popes had possessed the same authority over the eastern empire as over the west, not only would they have expelled the Saracens but the Turks also. All the evils which these peoples have inflicted on us would not have taken place. The Mahomet, the Solyman, the Amurat, &c. would be names unknown amongst us. That French people, who allow themselves to be led astray by sophistry, would bear sway at Constantinople and in the *Holy City*. The assizes of Jerusalem, which are now no more than a monument of history, would be quoted and observed in the place where they were written ; the French language (and the other languages of Europe) would be spoken in Palestine. The arts and sciences, together with civilization,

Church, which he calls ΟΦΥΝ ΔΥΤΙΚΗΝ. (If I am not mistaken, this passage occurs in his work on the advantage that may be derived from profane books for the good of religion.) Nothing, not even sanctity, could wholly extinguish the natural state of war which divided the two states and the two churches. This state of things resulted from politics, and is traceable to the days of Constantine.

^a Tom. ii. lettre xlv.

would give dignity and splendour to those countries of Asia, of old the garden of Europe, to-day but thinly peopled, abandoned to ignorance, to despotism, to the plague, to every species of degradation.

If the blind pride of these countries had not constantly resisted the Sovereign Pontiffs; if the Popes had been able to control the unworthy emperors of Byzantium, or at least to command their respect, they would have saved Asia, as they have saved Europe, which owes them everything, although it appears to forget the benefit.

For a long time, torn to pieces by the barbarians of the north, Europe beheld itself threatened with the greatest evils. The formidable Saracens were rushing upon it, and already its most beautiful provinces were attacked, conquered, or encroached upon. Already masters of Syria, of Egypt, of Tingitania, of Numidia, they had added to their conquests of Asia and Africa a considerable part of Greece, Spain, Sardinia, Corsica, Apulia, Calabria, and a part of Sicily. They had laid siege to Rome, and burnt its suburbs. In fine, they had invaded France; and, so early as the eighth century, it was all over with Europe, had not the genius of Charles Martel and of Charlemagne stayed the torrent. The new enemy was not like the rest; the noble children of the north could become accustomed to us, learn our languages, and unite with us, in fine, by the triple tie of laws, of marriage, and of religion. But the disciple of Mahomet does not belong to us in any way; he is thoroughly alien, incapable of associating and of mixing with us. The Turks—disdainful and haughty spectators of our civilization, our arts, and our sciences, as well as mortal enemies of our worship—are, to-day, what they were in 1454, a horde of Tartars encamped on European ground. War between us and them is natural, peace the reverse. As soon as the Christian and the Mussulman come in contact, the one or the other must yield or perish.

“Entre ces ennemis, il n'est point de traité.”

“Between such enemies there can be no treaty.”

Happily, the Tiara has saved us from the Crescent. The

former has never ceased to oppose the latter power, to do battle with it, to raise up enemies against it, band them together, encourage, maintain, and guide them. If we possess freedom, learning, and Christianity, to the tiara we are indebted for these benefits.

Among the means employed by the Popes to repel Mahometanism, we must distinguish that of giving the lands usurped by the Saracens to the first who should be able to dispossess them. And what better could be done when the usurper no longer appeared? Was there any more eligible means of rendering legitimate the birth of a sovereignty? And can it be believed that this institution was not a little more valid than *the will of the people*, that is, the will of a handful of factious persons under the control of one? But when there is question of *lands given* by the Popes, our modern reasonings never fail to transfer the whole public law of modern Europe to the midst of the deserts, of the anarchy, the invasions, and the fluctuating sovereignties of the middle ages; this of necessity can only produce the strangest paralogisms.

Let history be read with unbiassed eyes, and it will be seen that the Popes did all it was in their power to do in those unfortunate times. It will be seen, particularly, that they even surpassed themselves in the war they waged with Mahometanism.

“So early as the ninth century, when the formidable army of the Saracens appeared to be on the point of destroying Italy, and of making a Mahometan village of the capital of the Christian world, Pope Leo IV., assuming in this danger an authority which the generals of the Emperor Lothaire seemed to have abandoned, showed himself worthy, by defending Rome, of ruling over it as its sovereign. He fortified the city, armed the soldiers, and visited in person all the posts. . . . He was born a Roman. The courage of the first ages of the republic lived again in him, at a time marked by cowardice and corruption. Such is a beautiful monument of ancient Rome when found, as happens sometimes, amidst the ruins of the modern city.”*

* Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tom. ii. ch. xxviii.

But in the end all resistance would have been vain, and the ascendancy of Islamism would infallibly have been established, if we had not been saved anew by the Popes, and by the crusades of which they were the authors, the promoters, and the guides, as much, alas! as the ignorance and the passions of men permitted. The Popes discovered, as if with the eyes of Hannibal, that, in order to repel or completely to disable a formidable and extravasated power, it is by no means sufficient to provide for self-defence at home, but that it is necessary to attack it in its own territories. The crusaders, rushing on Asia at their desire, soon gave the sultans other thoughts than that of invading or even of insulting Europe.

Those who say that the crusades were undertaken by the Popes only as wars of devotion, do not appear to have read the discourse of Urban II. to the Council of Clermont. The Popes never closed their eyes on Mahometanism until it fell of itself into that lethargic sleep which has freed us for ever of all disquietude in regard to it. But it is very remarkable that the last, the decisive blow, was struck by the hand of a Pope. On the 7th October, 1571, was fought that ever-memorable battle—"the most terrible naval engagement that ever took place. That day so glorious for the Christians was the epoch of the decline of the Turks. It cost them more than men and ships, the loss of which can be repaired. They lost that power of opinion which is the principal power of conquering nations—a power which, once acquired, when lost, is never recovered." ^a "That immortal day humbled the Ottoman pride, and undeceived the universe, which believed the Turkish fleets to be invincible." ^b

^a M. de Bonald. *Législation Primitive*, tom. iii. p. 288. *Disc. Politiq. sur l'Etat de l'Europe*, sec. viii.

^b These last expressions belong to the celebrated Cervantes, who was in the battle of Lepanto, and even had the honour to be wounded there.—*Don Quixote*, part i. ch. xxxix. Madrid, 1799, in 16mo. tom. iv. p. 40. In the preface to the second part, Cervantes returns to the subject of this celebrated battle, which he calls *la mas alta ocasion que vieron los siglos pasados, los presentes, ni esperan ver los venidores*.—*Ibid.* tom. v. p. 8, edition of Don Pelicer.

But to whom was Christendom indebted for this battle of Lepanto, the eternal honour of Europe, the epoch of the downfall of the Crescent, and which the mortal enemy of human dignity alone could attempt to undervalue? ^a To the Holy See. The conqueror of Lepanto was not so much Don Juan of Austria as Pius V., of whom Bacon has said, "I am astonished that the Roman Church has not yet canonized this great man." ^b In conjunction with the king of Spain and the republic of Venice, he attacked the Ottomans; he was the author and the soul of that glorious enterprise, which he aided by his counsels, by his influence, by his treasures, and by his arms even, which showed themselves at Lepanto in a way quite worthy of the Sovereign Pontiff.

CHAPTER VIII.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK.

MEN of enlightened conscience and good faith can no longer doubt that it was Christianity which formed European monarchy—a wonderful thing that is too little admired. But without the Pope, there is no true Christianity;—without the Pope, the Divine institution loses its power, its Divine character, and its converting influence;—without the Pope, it is nothing better than a system, a human belief, incapable of penetrating and modifying the heart, to render man susceptible of a higher degree of science, of morality, of civilization. Every sovereignty, on whose forehead the finger of the great Pontiff has not impressed its virtue, will always be inferior to the rest, as well in the duration of its reigns as in the character of its dignity and the forms of its government. Every nation, even although

Whoever would know more about this battle, may read the description of it in the work of Gratiani, *De Bello Cyprio*. Rome, 1664, in 4to.

^a "What was the fruit of the battle of Lepanto?" It appeared "that the Turks had gained it."—*Volt. Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c. tom. v. ch. clxi. How ridiculous!

^b In the dialogue *De Bello Sacro*.

Christian, which has not sufficiently experienced the constituent action of the Holy See, will in like manner, *cæteris paribus*, never cease to be inferior to all others; and every separated nation, after having been impressed with the Catholic seal, will feel that there is something wanting to it, and will sooner or later be brought back by reason or misfortune. There is for each people a mysterious but visible connection between the duration of reigns and the perfection of the religious principle. There is no king *by the will of the people*, since the average duration of the lives of Christian princes is greater than that of other men, notwithstanding the accidents peculiar to their state; and this phenomenon will become still more striking in proportion as they shall more powerfully protect the vivifying worship; for there may be more or less sovereignty, just as there may be more or less nobility.* The faults of the Popes, infinitely

* Nobility, being nothing else than *a prolongation of sovereignty*, **MAGNUM JOVIS INCREMENTUM**, it reproduces in miniature all the characteristics of its parent, and is not, especially, either more or less human than the sovereignty from which it springs: for it is an error to believe that, properly speaking, sovereigns can enoble; they can only sanction the nobility that nature has conferred. True nobility is the natural guardian of religion; it is akin to the priesthood, and ceases not to protect it. Appius Claudius exclaimed in the Roman senate, "Religion is the care of the patricians,—**AUSPICIA SUNT PATRUM.**" And Bourdaloue, fourteen centuries later, said in a Christian church, "Sanctity, in order to be eminent, can find no groundwork better adapted to it than grandeur."—Serm. sur la Concep. p. 11. Both ideas are the same, each being clothed respectively in the colours of the age in which they were expressed. Woe to the people whose nobles abandon national dogmas. France, which gave all great examples for good or for evil, has just proved this to the world; for that bacchante, called *the French revolution*, and which, even now, has only changed its garb, is the daughter, born of the impious intercourse of the French nobility with the *philosophism* of the eighteenth century. The disciples of the Alcoran say, "that one of the signs of the end of the world will be the advancement of persons of low condition to the highest dignities."—Pococke, quoted by Sale, Obs. Hist. et Crit. sur le Mahom. sec. iv. This is an oriental exaggeration, which a woman of much wit has reduced to the measure of European sobriety (Lady Mary Wortley Montague's works, tom. iv. pp. 223, 224). It appears

exaggerated or misrepresented, and which in general have redounded to the advantage of mankind, are besides only the human alloy inseparable from every temporal *mixture*; and when everything has been well examined and weighed in the scales of the coldest and most impartial philosophy, it remains demonstrated, *that the Popes were the founders, the tutors, the saviours, and the real constituent minds of the social state of Europe.*

But, as there are defects in every imaginable government, I by no means maintain that the sacerdotal regimen is faultless in the political order; in regard to this point, I propose to the good sense of Europeans two reflections which have always appeared to me to be of the greatest weight.

The first is, that this government ought not to be judged of by itself, but in its relation with the Catholic world. If it be necessary, as it evidently is, to maintain entirety and unity, and, if it may be so expressed, to make the same blood circulate in the remotest veins of an im-

certain, however, that in the case of nobility, as well as sovereignty, there is a hidden relation between religion and the duration of families. The anonymous author of an English novel, entitled *The Forester*, extracts from which only I have been able to see, has made remarkable observations on the decline of families, and the variations of property in England, which I call to mind, without being entitled to pronounce an opinion in regard to them. "There must," says he, "be something radically and alarmingly bad in a system which in one century had destroyed hereditary succession and known names, more than all the devastations produced by the civil wars of York and Lancaster, and of the reign of Charles I. had done, perhaps, in the three preceding centuries together," &c.—*Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, Nov. 1803, No. lviii. p. 249.

If the ancient English families had really perished, in the period of about one century, in numbers alarmingly considerable (which I venture not to affirm on the testimony of one writer it would only be the accelerated and consequently more visible effect of a judgment, the execution of which would, nevertheless, have commenced immediately after the fault. Why should not the nobility be *less preserved*, after having rejected the religion which preserves? Why should it be better treated than its masters, whose reigns have been abridged?

mense body, all the imperfections resulting from this kind of Roman theocracy ought not to be otherwise considered than as, for instance, the humidity produced by a steam-engine in the building which encloses it. The second reflection is, that the government of the Popes is a monarchy, like all other monarchies, if it be simply considered as *a government by one chief*. Now what evils does not the best constituted monarchy produce? All books of morality teem with sarcasms against courts and courtiers. There is no end to animadversions on the duplicity, the perfidy, the corruption of people about courts; and Voltaire, surely, had not the Popes in view, when he said with so much delicacy,

“O wisdom of Heaven! I believe thou art most profound;
But to what stupid tyrants hast thou not abandoned the world!”^a

Nevertheless, when every species of criticism has been exhausted, and when have been thrown, as is reasonable, into the other scale of the balance, all the advantages of monarchy, what is the final result? *It is the best, the most durable of governments, and the most natural to man*. Let the court of Rome be judged in the same way. It is a monarchy, the only possible form of government for ruling the Catholic Church; and whatever may be the superiority of this monarchy over others,^b it is impossible

^a “O sagesse du ciel! je te crois très-profonde;
Mais à quels plats tyrans as-tu livré le monde?”

He said, on the contrary, in speaking of modern Rome:

“Les citoyens, en paix sagement gouvernés,
Ne sont plus conquérants, et sont plus fortunés.”

“The citizens in peace, and wisely governed,
Are conquerors no longer, but are more fortunate.”

^b The government of the Pope is the only one in the world which never had a model, and of which there will never be an imitation. It is an elective monarchy, of which the titular, always aged, and always in the state of celibacy, is elected by a small number of electors, themselves elected by his predecessors, all in celibacy, like himself, and chosen without any necessary consideration for their birth, their wealth, or even their country.

If we examine attentively this form of government, we shall see that it excludes the inconveniences of elective, without losing the advantages of hereditary monarchy.

that human passions should strive around any focus of power whatsoever, and not leave traces of their action, which prevent not the government of the Pope from being the mildest and the most moral of all governments, as the much greater evils generated by temporal monarchy hinder it not from being the best of governments.

In concluding this discussion, I declare that I protest alike against all kinds of exaggeration. Let the pontifical power be confined within its just limits; but let not these limits be torn up and displaced at the bidding of passion and of ignorance; above all, let not opinion be alarmed by vain fears. Far from dreading at this moment the excess of spiritual power, it is the contrary extreme we have to dread; in other words, that the Popes should want the strength necessary to bear the immense burthen imposed on them, and that from yielding too much, they should lose the power as well as the habit of resistance. Let men honestly accord what is due to them. The Sovereign Pontiff, on his part, understands what he owes to temporal authority, which will never have a more intrepid and powerful defender. But he must also know how to defend his rights; and if any prince, by a trait of wisdom not inferior to that of the son who threatened his father that he would make himself be hanged in order to dishonour him, dared to threaten his parent with schism in order to extort some undue concession, the successor of St. Peter might very properly reply to him what was written of old by a celebrated poet:—

“Do you desire to abandon me? Well, depart! Follow the passion which leads you astray: expect not, that in order to retain you near me, I shall have recourse to supplications. Depart! To give me the honour due to me, other men will remain; BUT, ABOVE ALL, GOD WILL REMAIN TO ME.”^a

The prince would think of it.

^a Φεύγε μάλ', εἴ τοι θυμὸς ἐπίσσυται· οὐδέ σ' ἔγωγε
 Λίσσομαι εἴνεκ' ἐμεῖο μένειν· παρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι,
 Οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι· ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ΜΗΤΙΕΤΑ ΖΕΥΣ.

Homer, *Iliad*, i. 173, 175.

BOOK IV.

THE POPE IN HIS RELATION WITH THE CHURCHES
CALLED SCHISMATICAL.

CHAPTER I.

THAT EVERY SCHISMATIC CHURCH IS PROTESTANT—AFFINITY
OF THE TWO SYSTEMS—TESTIMONY OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

IT is a fundamental truth in all questions of religion, *that every Church which is not Catholic is Protestant.* In vain has it been attempted to make a distinction between schismatic and heretical Churches. I know well what is meant ; but, in reality, the whole difference lies in words, and every Christian who rejects the communion of the Holy Father is Protestant, or will soon be so.

What is a Protestant? A man who *protests.* Now what matters it whether he protest against one or against several dogmas—against this one or against that one? He may be more or less *Protestant,* but, nevertheless, he *protests.*

What observer has not been struck with the exceeding great favour Protestantism enjoys among the Russian clergy, although, if written dogmas were held to be anything, it ought to be hated on the Neva as well as on the Tiber? This arises from the fact that all separated societies unite in hatred of the unity which crushes them. Each of them has written on its banners—

Whoever is an enemy of Rome is my friend.

Peter I., at the commencement of last century, having caused to be printed for his subjects a catechism contain-

ing all the dogmas he approved of, this piece was translated into English^a in the year 1725, with a preface which it is worth while to quote.

"This catechism," says the translator, "*breathes the spirit of the great man by whom it was composed.*"^b This prince overcame two enemies more terrible than the Swedes or the Tartars—I mean ignorance and superstition, favoured by most inveterate and insatiable habit. . . . I flatter myself that this translation will render more easy the approximation of the English and Russian bishops, in order that, by their united efforts, they may be better able to thwart *the atrocious and sanguinary designs of the Roman clergy.*^c . . . The Russians and the Reformers agree on SEVERAL articles of faith as much as they differ from the Roman Church.^d . . . The former deny purgatory,^e . . . and our fellow-countryman *Covel*, doctor of Cambridge, has learnedly proved, in his Memoirs on the Greek Church, *how much the transubstantiation of the Latins differs from the Greek supper.*"^f

^a The Russian catechism, composed and published by order of the CZAR; to which is annexed a short account of the Church government and ceremonies of the Muscovites. London, Meadows, 1725, in 8vo. by Jenkin. Thom. Philips, pp. 4 & 66.

^b The translator speaks here of a catechism as he would speak of an ukase, which the emperor might publish in regard to matters of law or police. This opinion, which is correct, ought to be remarked.

^c It may cause astonishment, that so late as 1725, anything so very extravagant could be printed in England. I shall undertake, nevertheless, to point out passages still more astonishing in the works of the first Anglican doctors of our days.

^d On this point, the translator is both wrong and right. He is wrong, if we consider only the written professions of faith, which are almost the same in the Latin and Russian Churches, and equally different from the Protestant confessions; but, if we come to practice and internal belief, the translator is right. What is called the *Greek* faith, is removing every day farther from Rome, and drawing nearer to Wittenberg.

^e I know nothing about it, and I believe in my conscience that the Russian clergy do not know any better than I do.

^f Here we have Anglican theologians affirming that so early as the beginning of last century, the faith of the Roman and that of

What tenderness and what confidence! The fraternity is evident. Here the power of hatred makes itself be felt in a really fearful manner. The Russian Church professes, as ours does, the real presence, the necessity of confession and sacerdotal absolution, the same number of sacraments, the reality of the eucharistic sacrifice, the invocation of saints, the veneration of images, &c.; Protestantism, on the contrary, makes profession of rejecting, of abhorring even, these doctrines and these practices; nevertheless, if it meets with them in a Church separated from Rome, it is no longer shocked at them. This worship of images, especially, so solemnly declared *idolatrour*, loses all its venom, even although it should be exaggerated to such a degree as to have become the whole of religion. The Russian is separated from the Holy See; this is enough for the Protestant, who beholds in him only a brother—another Protestant; all dogmas are null, with the exception of hatred to Rome. This hatred is the only but universal tie between all separated Churches.

An archbishop of Twer, who died only two or three years ago, published in 1805 an historical work, in Latin, on the four first ages of Christianity; and in this book (which I have already quoted, in treating of celibacy) he advances, without circumlocution, *that a great portion of the Russian clergy is Calvinist.*^a This text is by no means ambiguous.

the Russian Church, on the subject of the eucharist, were no longer the same. It would be quite wrong, therefore, to complain of the prejudices of Catholics on this subject.

^a Or, if we must have a word-for-word translation, "that a great portion of the Russian clergy cherishes and celebrates to excess the Calvinist system."—*Hæc sanè est disciplina illa (Calvini) quam PLURIMI DE NOSTRIS (sic) tantoperè laudant deamantque.*—*Methodii Archiep. Twer, Liber Historicus de Rebus in Primitivâ Eccl. Christ. &c. in 4to. Mosquæ, 1805. Typis Sanctissimæ Synodi, cap. vi. sect. i. § 79, p. 168.* Every man who has been able to take a near view of things, will have no doubt that by these words, *PLURIMI DE NOSTRIS*, must be understood every priest of this church who knows Latin or French, unless in his inmost heart he lean to a quite opposite side, which is by no means unheard of among learned persons of this order.

The clergy, in the whole course of their ecclesiastical education, study no other than Protestant books; a habit of hate removes them from Catholic works, notwithstanding the exceeding great affinity of doctrines. *Bingham*, especially, is their oracle; and so far do they go in this respect, that the prelate I have just quoted appeals quite seriously to *Bingham*, in order to establish that *the Russian Church teaches only the pure faith of the Apostles*.^a

It is something quite extraordinary, and very little known in the rest of Europe, that a Russian bishop, in order to establish the perfect orthodoxy of his Church, should appeal to the testimony of a Protestant doctor. And he himself—after having, for form's sake, blamed this leaning to Calvinism—refrains not from styling *Calvin* A GREAT MAN:^b a strange expression in the mouth of a bishop, speaking of an heresiarch, and which has never escaped him in the whole course of his work in regard to a Catholic doctor.

Elsewhere he tells us that *during fifteen centuries the doctrine of Calvin was ALMOST unknown in the Church*.^c This modification will also seem curious; but in the rest of the book he shows equally little scruple; he openly attacks the doctrine of the sacraments, and proves himself completely Calvinist.

The work, as I have already observed, having issued even from the presses of the Synod, and with its formal approbation, there can be no doubt but it represents the doctrine generally prevalent among the clergy, with exceptions which I hold in honour.

^a Methodius, *ibid.* sect. i. p. 206, note 2.

^b MAGNUM VIRUM, *ibid.* p. 168.

^c Doctrinam Calvini per M. et D. ann. in Ecclesiâ Christi PENZ inauditam.—*Ibid.*

The Archbishop of Twer published this work in Latin, sure of not being criticised either by his brethren, who would never reveal a family secret, nor by men of the world, who would not understand it, and who, besides, would be no more concerned about the opinions of the prelate than about his person. It is impossible, if one has not witnessed it, to form an idea of the indifference of the Russians for this kind of men and things.

I might quote other testimonies not less decisive, but I must keep within limits. I not only affirm that the Church in question is Protestant, but, moreover, that it is necessarily so, and that God would not be God if it were not. The bond of unity being once broken, there is no longer a common tribunal, nor consequently an invariable rule of faith. Everything resolves itself into private judgment and civil supremacy, the two things which constitute the essence of Protestantism.

Instruction, besides, inspiring no alarm in Russia, and the same empire containing nearly three millions of Protestant subjects, innovators of all kinds have been able to profit by this advantage, to insinuate freely their opinions in all orders of the state, and all are agreed, even without knowing it; for all *protest* against the Holy See, and this suffices to establish the common fraternity.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PRETENDED INVARIABLENESS OF DOGMA IN THE SEPARATED CHURCHES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

SEVERAL Catholics, in deploring our fatal separation from the *Photian* Churches, do them the honour, nevertheless, to believe, that, with the exception of the small number of contested points, they have preserved the deposit of faith in all its integrity. They themselves boast of this, and speak emphatically of their invariable *orthodoxy*. It is worth while to examine this opinion, because, in clearing it up, we are led to important truths.

All the Churches separated from the Holy See at the beginning of the twelfth century, may be compared to frozen carcases, the forms of which cold has preserved. This cold is the ignorance which was destined to last longer for them than for us; for it has pleased God—for reasons it is well worth while to inquire into—to concentrate, until a new order of things shall arise, all human science in our western countries.

But as soon as the warm breath of science shall have blown on those churches, there will happen what, according to the laws of nature, ought to happen : the ancient forms will be dissolved, and only dust will remain.

I never inhabited Greece, nor any country of Asia, but I have long been an inhabitant of the world, and I have the good fortune to know some of its laws. A mathematician would be very unfortunate if he were obliged to calculate, one after another, all the terms of a long series : for this case, as well as for so many others, there are formulas which expedite the work. I have no need, therefore, to know (although I acknowledge that I do not know it) what is done, and what is believed, here or there. I know, and this is sufficient, that if the ancient law still prevails in such or such a separated country, the light of science has not yet reached that country, and that if science has dawned upon it, its faith has disappeared ; this must not, however, as is pretty obvious, be understood to be a sudden, but gradual change, according to another law of nature, which, to use the language of the schools, admits not of *leaps*. Behold, then, the law, as certain, and as invariable as its author :

NO RELIGION, EXCEPT ONE, CAN STAND THE TEST
OF SCIENCE.

This oracle is more sure than that of Calchas.* Science is a species of acid, which dissolves all metals *except gold*.

Where do we find the professions of faith of the sixteenth century ?

In books. We have never ceased to say to Protestants : “ *You cannot stop on the side of a precipice ; you will roll down to the bottom.* ”

To-day, these Catholic predictions are found to be perfectly justified. Let not those who have as yet made

* As this work is intended for all who read, as well as for the learned, it may be as well to say that Calchas was a celebrated soothsayer, who followed the Grecian army to the siege of Troy, and foretold that the siege would last ten years.

only three or four steps in the same direction, boast of their pretended immobility; they will soon behold themselves hurrying downwards with accelerated motion.

I swear it by eternal truth, and no European conscience will contradict me, *Science and faith will never be allied out of unity.*

We know what good La Fontaine said one day in returning a *New Testament* a friend had induced him to read,—“I have read your New Testament, it is a pretty good book.” Provided we observe attentively, we shall see that to this confession is the Protestant faith almost reduced—to an indescribable, vague, and confused notion, which might be quite well expressed by these few words: “*There may possibly be something Divine in Christianity.*”

But when there is question of a detailed profession of faith, none are agreed. The ancient ecclesiastical formulas remain in books—a dead letter; they are signed to-day, because they were signed yesterday; but with all this, conscience has nothing to do.

It is very important, however, to observe that the Phœtian churches are farther removed from the truth than the other Protestant churches, for the latter have gone the whole round of error, whilst the former are only commencing the circuitous route, and must in consequence pass by Calvinism, perhaps even by Socinianism, before they return to unity. Every friend of unity, therefore, must desire that the ancient edifice among separatists should speedily crumble to pieces under the blows of Protestant science, in order that its place may remain open for the truth.

There is, meanwhile, a great chance in favour of the churches called *schismatical*, and which may very much accelerate their return; this chance lies in the conversion of Protestants, already far advanced, and which may be hastened more than we think by an ardent and pure desire, apart from all spirit of pride and contention.

There is no believing to what a degree the churches that are simply schismatical seek support from the revolt and learning of Protestants. Ah! if ever the same faith spoke English and French, the obstinate resistance to this faith

would speedily become, throughout all Europe, truly ridiculous, and—why should I not say it?—*unfashionable*.

I have already said why we ought not to attach any importance to the preservation of faith in the *Photian* churches, even although it were real, because they have not passed through the ordeal of science—the *great acid* has not yet touched them. Besides, what means the word *faith*, and what has it in common with external forms and written confessions? Is there question of knowing only what is written?

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ARISING FROM THE POSITION OF THOSE CHURCHES: PARTICULAR REMARKS ON THE ANGLICAN AND RUSSIAN SECTS.

BEHOLD yet another law of nature: *Nothing is changed except by mixture, and there is never mixture without affinity*. The Photian churches are preserved in the midst of Mahometanism, as an insect is preserved in amber. How should they be altered, since nothing touches them that is capable of uniting with them? There can be no commingling of Mahometanism and Christianity. But, if those churches (the Photian) were exposed to the action of Protestantism or Catholicism, with enough of the *fire of science*, they would disappear almost of a sudden.

Now, as the nations may to-day, by means of languages, touch one another, although at a distance, we shall soon witness the great experience, already far advanced in Russia. Our languages will reach those nations which boast their faith bound up in parchment, and in a twinkling we shall behold them drinking in copious draughts all the errors of Europe. But then we shall be tired of these errors, and this will probably shorten their delirium.

When we consider the trials to which the Roman Church has been subjected by the attacks of heresy and by the mingling of barbarous nations which took place within it,

we are struck with admiration, finding that in the midst of these formidable revolutions all its titles remain untouched, and trace their origin to the Apostles. By changing certain things in its external forms, it only proves its vitality, for everything that has life in the universe changes according to circumstances, in all that is not essential. God, having reserved these forms within his power, has given them up to time to be disposed of according to certain rules. This variation of which I speak is even an indispensable sign of life, absolute immobility belonging only to death.

Let one of those separated peoples be subjected to a revolution like that which desolated France during a quarter of a century; suppose a tyrannical power raging against the Church, slaying, plundering, dispersing the priests; and, particularly, tolerating, favouring all creeds except the national one—this last will disappear like smoke.

France, after the horrible revolution it experienced, remained Catholic; in other words, whatever has not continued Catholic is nothing. Such is the force of truth when subjected to the most terrible ordeal. *Men*, doubtless, may have been changed by this ordeal, but not doctrine; because it is essentially unchangeable.

It is quite the reverse with all false religions. As soon as ignorance has ceased to maintain their forms, and they are attacked by philosophical opinions, they fall into a state of dissolution, and hasten on with obviously accelerated motion to utter annihilation.

And, as the putrefaction of large organized bodies produces innumerable *sects* of miry reptiles, national religions, when putrefied, produce in like manner a multitude of religious *insects*, which drag out on the same soil the remains of a divided, imperfect, and disgusting existence.

This may be observed on all sides, and by this may England and Russia, particularly, account for the number and inexhaustible fecundity of the *sects* which pullulate within their immense territories. These *sects* are born of the putrefaction of a great body. Such is the order of nature.

The Russian Church, above all, bears in its own bosom more enemies than any other; Protestantism pervades it.

Rascolnism,* which might be called the *illuminism* of the rural districts, gathers strength every day; already are its children numbered by millions, and the laws dare no longer interfere with them. *Illuminism* is the *Rascolnism* of the drawing-room, and seizes upon those more delicate viands which the grosser hand of the *Rascolnic* cannot reach.

* An interesting memoir might be written on the *Rascolnics*. Restricted to the narrow limits of a note, I shall only say in regard to them what is indispensable in order to be understood.

The word *Rascolnic*, in the Russian language, signifies literally *schismatic*. The schism designated by this generical expression originated in the ancient translation of the Bible, to which the *Rascolnics* cling tenaciously, and which contains texts that, according to them, are altered in the version made use of by the Russian Church. On this ground they call themselves (and who may hinder them?) *men of the ancient faith*, or *old believers* (*staroversi*). Whenever the people, possessing, unfortunately for themselves, the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, persist in reading and interpreting them, no aberration of private judgment need astonish. It would be too long to relate in detail the numerous superstitions which have been added to the original grievances of these bewildered men. The sect, soon after its commencement, was divided and subdivided, as always happens, to such a degree, that at this moment there are in Russia perhaps forty sects of *Rascolnics*. All are extravagant, and some abominable. Besides, the *Rascolnics protest en masse* against the Russian Church, as the latter protests against the Roman. The motive, the argument, the right, are the same on both sides, so that any complaint on the part of the prevailing authority would be ridiculous. *Rascolnism* neither alarms nor shocks the nation at large, any more than other false religions; the higher classes think of it only to make sport of it. As for the priesthood, it never undertakes anything against the dissenters, because it knows its weakness, and that, moreover, the spirit of proselytism must be essentially wanting to it. *Rascolnism* does not extend beyond the ranks of the people; but the people is really something, *even if its numbers amounted only to thirty millions*. Men who profess to be well informed already estimate the number of these sectaries at nearly the seventh of the whole people. But this I do not affirm. The government, which alone knows what to think on the matter, says nothing about it, and it does well. It, moreover, treats the *Rascolnics* with unequalled prudence, moderation, and goodness; and, even although unfortunate consequences should be the result (which, God forbid!), it would always find consolation in the reflection that severity would not have succeeded better.

Other still more dangerous influences are in operation, each in its sphere, and all are multiplying at the expense of the mass of the people, whom they devour. There are certainly great differences between the Anglican and Russian sects; but the principle is the same—always the national religion, the life of which is declining, whilst the *insects* gain upon it.

Why do we not find sects forming in France for instance, in Italy, &c. ? Because religion lives there in its integrity, and never gives ground. We may, indeed, behold, side by side with it, absolute incredulity, as a corpse may be seen beside a living man; but never, as it possesses its full complement of life, will it produce anything impure without itself. It may, on the contrary, be propagated and multiplied in other men, among whom it will still be *itself*, without being weakened or diminished, as the light of a torch passes to a thousand other torches.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE DESIGNATION OF PHOTIAN, APPLIED TO THE SCHISMATICAL CHURCHES.

SOME readers will observe, perhaps, with a certain degree of surprise, the epithet *Photian*, of which I have constantly made use to designate the churches separated from Christian unity by the schism of *Photius*. If they behold in this the slightest desire to give offence, or the least sign of contempt, they would be very much deceived as to my intentions. What I have in view is, to give to things their true names, and this is a point of very great importance. I have already said, and nothing is more obvious, that every church separated from Rome is Protestant. And in fact, whether it *protest* to-day, or *protested* yesterday; whether it *protests* on one dogma, or on two, or on ten, it is always true, that it *protests* against unity and universal authority. Photius was born in this unity, and so completely did he acknowledge the authority of the Pope, that he asked and insisted on obtaining from the Pope the title

of *Œcumenical Patriarch*, a title which becomes absurd, the moment it is no longer confined to one. It was only because he could not obtain this great title, of which he was ambitious, that he finally broke with the Sovereign Pontiff; for it is quite essential to observe, there was by no means question of dogmas between the two churches at the commencement of the great and fatal schism. It was only after it was accomplished, that, in order to give it plausible grounds, disputes about dogmas were originated. The addition of *Filioque* to the creed had not at all generated a quarrel with the Greeks. The Latin churches, established in great number at Constantinople, chanted this creed without exciting the least scandal. What more would we have? Two œcumenical councils were held at Constantinople after *Filioque* was added, without any complaint on the part of those attached to the Eastern Church.* These facts are not here brought to mind for

* As there is question of "*Filioque*," it may be thought worth while to attend to the following observation. It is well known what an important part Platonism acted in the first ages of Christianity. Now, the school of Plato maintained that the *second person* of his famous trinity *proceeded from the first*, and the *third from the second*. For the sake of brevity, I omit the authorities, which are incontestable. Arius, who had much frequented the Platonicians, although in reality he was less orthodox than they on the nature of the Divinity, found this idea admirably suited to him; for it was his interest to accord everything to the Son except *consubstantiality*. The Arians, then, must have willingly held with the Platonicians (although on different principles), *that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son*. Next came Macedonius, whose heresy was but a necessary consequence of that of Arius, and by his system he was inclined to the same belief. Abusing the celebrated passage, "*All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made*," he concluded from it, that the Holy Ghost was a production of the Son, *who had made all*. This opinion, therefore, being common to Arians of all classes, to the Macedonians as well as to the adherents of Platonism, in other words, uniting these different classes to a formidable portion of the learned of those times, the first council of Constantinople found it necessary to condemn it solemnly, and this it did in declaring the procession *ex Patre*. As to the procession *ex Filio*, it made no mention of it; because it was not in discussion, because nobody denied it, and because, if the expression may be used, *it was too*

the information of theologians, who cannot be ignorant of them, but for men of the world, who have but little idea of them, even in countries where it would be of great importance to know them.

Photius, then, *protested*, as have done since the churches of the sixteenth century; so that there are no other differences between the dissenting churches than those arising from the number of dogmas in dispute. As regards the principle of separation, they are the same. All of them rebelled against the mother Church, which they accused of error or usurpation. Now, the principle being the same, the consequences can only differ by the dates of their occurrence. All the dogmas will disappear successively, and all these churches will, in the end, become Socinian, —apostasy commencing always, and attaining its maturity, at first among the clergy,—a fact I would recommend to the attention of observers.

As to the invariability of written dogmas, national formulas, vestments, mitres, crosses, genuflections, signs of the cross, &c., I shall only add one word in addition to what I have already said. Cæsar and Cicero, if they could have lived to our days, would be clothed as we are; their statues will always bear the toga and senatorial garment.

Every separated church, therefore, being *Protestant*, it is right to class them all under the same denomination. Moreover, as the Protestant churches are distinguished among themselves by the names of their founders, by the names, more or less of the nations which received the pretended reformation, or by some particular symptom of the general malady, so that we say, *such a one is Calvinist, is Lutheran, is Anglican, is Methodist, is Baptist, &c.*, it is necessary also that a particular denomination should distinguish the churches which protested in the eleventh century; and assuredly we shall not find a more appro-

much believed in. Such is the point of view under which, I conceive, must be considered the decision of the council; which, however, excludes not any other argument employed in this question, a question, besides, which was decided previously to all theological discussion, by arguments drawn from the soundest ontology.

priate name than that which is derived from the author of the schism. It is quite according to justice, that this fatal personage should give his name to the churches he led astray. They are *Photian*, therefore, as that of Geneva is *Calvinist*, as that of Wittemberg is *Lutheran*. I know that these particular denominations are displeasing to them,* because conscience tells them, *that every religion which bears the name of a man or a people, is necessarily false*. Let each separated church, therefore, assume within its own borders the most beautiful names imaginable,—this is the privilege of national or individual pride; who could deny it them?

..... Orbis me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
Ipsa domi

But all these delicacies of pride in torture are foreign to us, and we must not respect them. It is, on the contrary, the duty of all Catholic writers never to give, in their writings, any other name to the churches separated by *Photius* than that of *Photian*, not from a spirit of hatred and resentment (may God preserve us from such meanness!), but, on the contrary, from a sense of justice, of charity, of universal benevolence, in order that these churches, being constantly reminded of their origin, may learn from it their nullity.

The duty here alluded to, is, in a special manner, imperatively incumbent on French writers,

Quos penès arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi;

the high prerogative of *naming things in Europe* being obviously confided to them as representatives of the nation of which they are the organs. Let them beware of giving to the *Photian* churches the names of *Greek or Eastern*

* I know there are some among the *Calvinists* who take offence at being called by this name.—Perpétuité de la Foi, xi. 2. The *Evangelicals*, whom Tolland calls *Lutherans*, although several among them reject this denomination.—Leibnitz, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 142. In Germany they prefer calling Evangelicals those whom several IMPROPERLY term Lutherans.—The same, Nouv. Essais sur l'Entendement Humain, p. 461. Read VERY PROPERLY.

Churches ; there is nothing so inapplicable as these denominations. They were appropriate before the schism, because at that time they expressed only the geographical differences of several churches united under one supreme power ; but, ever since they came to express an independent existence, they are no longer tolerable, and ought not to be employed.

CHAPTER V.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF GIVING TO THE SEPARATED CHURCHES A NAME EXPRESSIVE OF UNITY.—PRINCIPLES OF THE WHOLE DISCUSSION, AND PREDILECTION OF THE AUTHOR.

THIS leads me to unfold a truth, on which sufficient attention is not bestowed, although it merits a great deal ; it is, that all these churches having lost unity, it has become impossible for them to be reunited under a common and *positive* name. Shall we call them the *Oriental Church* ? There is certainly nothing less *Oriental* than Russia, which nevertheless forms a *pretty considerable* portion of the whole. I would even say, that if it were absolutely necessary to place names and things in contradiction, I would rather call this assemblage of separated churches *the Russian Church*. This name, indeed, would exclude Greece and the Levant ; but the power and dignity of the empire would, at least, cover the vice of language, which, do as you will, would still remain. Shall we say, for instance, *Greek* instead of *Oriental Church* ? This name would be still less suitable. Greece, if I am not mistaken, is nowhere to be found out of Greece.

As long as men could see only in the world Rome and Constantinople, the division of the Church naturally followed that of the empire, and men said the *Western Church* and the *Eastern Church*, just as they said the *Emperor* of the *West* and the *Emperor* of the *East* ; and then, even, it must be carefully observed, this designation would have been false and deceitful, if the same

faith had not united the two churches under the supremacy of a common chief; since, in this supposition, they would not have had a common name, and that there is precisely question only of this name, which must be Catholic and universal to represent the unity of the whole.

Thus, then, we see that the churches separated from Rome have no longer a common name, and can be designated only by a negative appellation, which declares not what they are, but what they are not; and this being the case, the word *Protestant* alone is adapted to them all, and includes them all, because in its generality, as is most just, it embraces all the churches that have *protested* against unity.

If we come to examine the matter in detail, we shall find that the title of *Photian* is as appropriate as that of *Lutheran*, *Calvinist*, &c.; all these names admirably designating the different species of Protestantism, comprised under the general head; but never will there be found for them a positive and general name.

It is known that these churches call themselves *orthodox*, and Russia will cause this ambitious epithet to be read in French throughout the West; for, until recent times, little attention has been paid amongst us to these *orthodox* churches, all our religious polemics having been directed against Protestants. But Russia becoming every day more European, and the universal language being completely neutralized in that great empire, it is impossible that some Russian pen, determined by one of those circumstances that cannot be foreseen, should not, through the medium of the French language, attack the Roman Church; and this is much to be desired, as no Russian can write against this Church without proving himself *Protestant*.

Then, for the first time, we shall hear speak in our languages of the *orthodox Church*! On all sides it will be asked: "*What is the orthodox Church?*" And each Christian of the West, as he says, "*It is mine apparently,*" will take leave to ridicule the error which addresses to itself a compliment it mistakes for a name.

Every one being free to assume whatever name he pleases, *Lais* herself might write over her door: "*The House of Artemisia.*" The great point is, to induce others to give us such or such a name, which is not quite so easy as to decorate ourselves with it by our own authority; meanwhile there is no real name except that which is recognized.

There occurs here an important observation. As it is impossible to assume a false name, it is equally so to confer one on others. Has not the Protestant party made the greatest efforts to fix upon us the name of *Papists*? Notwithstanding, it has never been able to succeed; as the Photian churches have never ceased to call themselves *orthodox*, whilst not a single Christian that was not engaged in the schism ever agreed so to name them. This appellation of *orthodox* has remained what it will always be, a singularly ridiculous compliment, since it is pronounced only by those who address it to themselves; and that of *Papist*, also, is still what it always was—a mere insult, dictated by bad taste, and which, among Protestants even, is no longer made use of by persons of good breeding.

But, to have done with this word *orthodox*. What Church does not believe herself *orthodox*? And what Church accords this title to others that are not in communion with her? A great and magnificent city of Europe lends itself to an interesting experiment, which I propose to all thinking men. A not very extensive space within it comprises churches of all the Christian communions. There is a Catholic Church, a Russian Church, an Armenian Church, a Calvinist Church, a Lutheran Church; a little further on, we find an Anglican Church; there is wanting only, I believe, a Greek Church. Say, then, to the first person you shall meet with on your way: "*Show me the ORTHODOX Church,*" each Christian will point to his own; and here is already a great proof of a common *orthodoxy*. But if you say, "*Show me a CATHOLIC Church,*" all will reply: "*Behold it!*" pointing all to the same. Great and profound subject of meditation! *It alone has a name,* in regard to which all men are

agreed; because, this name being designed to express unity (which is nowhere to be found except in the Catholic Church), this unity cannot be ignored where it exists, nor supposed to be where it exists not. Friends and enemies—all are agreed on this point. There is no dispute about the name, which is as evident as the reality it expresses. From the origin of Christianity, the Church has borne the name it bears to-day, and never has its name varied; it being impossible that any essence should disappear, or even be changed, without allowing its name to escape. If Protestantism bears always the same name, although its faith has varied immensely, it is because its name, being purely negative, and signifying only a renunciation of Catholicism, the less it believes and the more it *protests*, the more it is itself. Its name, therefore, becoming every day more true, it must subsist until the moment when it shall itself perish, as perishes an ulcer with the last atom of living flesh it has devoured.

The name *Catholic*, on the other hand, expresses an essence, a reality, which ought to have a name; and as out of its divine sphere there can be no religious unity, there may be found, indeed, apart from it, *churches*, but by no means THE CHURCH.

Never will the separated churches be able to confer on themselves a name expressive of unity, no power being competent, I should imagine, to give a name to that which does not exist. They will, therefore, assume national names, or such as denote their pretensions, but which will never fail to express the quality which is wanting to these churches. They will call themselves *reformed, evangelical, apostolical,* ^a *Anglican, Scotch, ortho-*

^a The Anglican Church, to whose good sense and pride, what she considers bad company is repugnant, has recently taken up the idea of maintaining that she is not *Protestant*. Some members of her clergy have openly defended this thesis; and as in this supposition they found they were *without a name*, it occurred to them to say they were *Apostolical*. It is a little too late for them, as is manifest, to confer on themselves a name, and Europe has lost so much of its politeness as not to believe in their patent of nobility. The parliament, however, lets them talk as they will

dox, &c., all names evidently false, and moreover accusing, because they are respectively new, peculiar, and even ridiculous in the estimation of all who are not of the party that assumes them: this excludes all idea of unity, and consequently of truth.

It is a general rule, that all sects have two names: one which they assume themselves, and another which the rest of mankind bestow upon them. Thus the Photian churches, which call themselves *orthodox*, are called by those not of their circle *schismatic*, *Greek*, or *Oriental*—words that are in reality synonymous, whatever they may be supposed to be. The first reformers no less boldly entitled themselves *evangelical*, and the second *reformed*; but all who are not of them call them *Lutheran* and *Calvinist*. The Anglicans, as we have seen, aim at being called *apostolical*; but all Europe, and even a part of England, will make light of this distinction. The Russian Rascolnic gives himself the name of *old believer*; but to every man who belongs not to his sect, he is merely *Rascolnic*. The Catholic alone is named as he names himself, and by this name is he known alike to all men.

He who would not attribute any value to this observation, must have studied but superficially the first chapter of the elements of metaphysics—that which treats of names.

It is a very remarkable thing, that, every Christian being obliged to acknowledge, in the Apostles' creed, *that he believes in the Catholic Church*, no dissenting Church has ever dared to decorate itself with this title and call itself *Catholic*, although nothing would have been so easy as to say: "*It is we who are Catholic*;" and that, besides, truth should be evidently connected with this quality of *Catholic*. But in this case, as in a thousand others, all the calculations of ambition and of policy gave way to the invincible power of conscience. No innovator ever ventured to usurp the name of the CHURCH; whether it was that none of them considered that, by a change of about their title of *Apostolical*, whilst it ceases not to *protest* that it is *Protestant*.

name, they condemned themselves, or whether they all perceived, although indistinctly, the absolute impossibility of such an usurpation.

Like to that one book of which she is the only depositary and the only legitimate interpreter, the Catholic Church is invested with a character so *great*, so *imposing*, so thoroughly *inimitable*,^a that none will ever think of disputing her name in opposition to the conscience of mankind.

If, therefore, a man belonging to one of these dissenting churches takes up his pen against THE CHURCH, he ought to be stopped at the very title-page of his work, and thus interrogated: "*Who are you? by what name are you known? whence came you? for whom do you speak?*"—"*For the Church,*" you will say.—"*What Church? Constantinople, Smyrna, Bucharest, Corfu, &c.? No church can be heard against THE CHURCH, any more than the representative of a particular province can be heard against a national assembly, presided over by the sovereign. You are justly condemned before being heard; you are put in the wrong without examination, because you are isolated.*"—"I speak," he will perhaps say, "for all the churches you name, and for all which follow the same faith."—"In this case, show your commissions. If you have no special commissions, there still exists the same difficulty; you represent, indeed, several churches, but not THE Church. You speak for provinces; the state cannot listen to you. If you pretend to act for all, by virtue of a mandate emanating from unity, name this unity; make known to us the central point which constitutes it, and tell its name, which ought to be such as that mankind may recognize it without hesitation. If you cannot name this central point, there remains not to you even the resource of calling yourselves a Christian republic, for there is no republic that has not a common council, a senate, and chiefs who represent and govern the association."^b No-

^a These expressions of Rousseau in relation to the Gospel are well known.

^b This is of the highest importance. A thousand times may we

thing of all this is to be found among you, and consequently you possess not any kind of unity, of hierarchy, or common association ; none of you has a right to speak in the name of all the rest. You believe you are an edifice ; you are nothing but stones."

We are rather far, as may be seen, from discussing with one another questions of dogma or of discipline. There is question, before all, on the part of our most ancient adversaries, of making good their legitimacy, and of telling us what they are. So long as they have not proved to us that they are THE CHURCH, they are in the wrong before having spoken ; and, in order to prove to us that they are THE CHURCH, they must show a centre of unity that may be seen by all eyes, and bearing a name at once positive and exclusive, listened to by all ears, and received by all parties.

I resist the impulse which would hurry me into a polemical discussion : it is sufficient that I state principles ; they are as follows :—

1. The Sovereign Pontiff is the necessary, the only, the exclusive basis of Christianity. To him belong the promises ; with him disappears unity, in other words, the Church.

2. Every church that is not Catholic is *Protestant*. The principle being everywhere the same,—*an insurrection against sovereign unity*,—all the dissenting churches can only differ by the number of dogmas they have rejected.

3. The supremacy of the Pope being the capital dogma,

have heard it asked in certain countries, "*Why could not the Church be presbyterian or collegiate ?*" Let it be granted that it might be so, although the contrary has been demonstrated ; it is necessary, at least, to show it such before asking whether it be legitimate under this form. Every republic possesses sovereign unity, as well as all other forms of government. Let the Photian churches, therefore, be what they will, provided they be something. Let them point to a general hierarchy, a synod, a council, a senate, as they may choose, of which they declare that they *all* hold, we shall *then* treat the question whether *the Universal Church may be a republic or a college*. Until that time, however, they must be considered null as regards universality.

without which Christianity cannot subsist, all the churches which reject this dogma, to the importance of which they blind themselves, are agreed, without knowing it; everything else is merely accessory, and hence their affinity, the cause of which they are ignorant of.

4. The first symptom of the nullity which has struck these churches, is observable in the sudden and simultaneous loss of the power and the will to convert mankind, and to forward the work of God. They make not any conquests, and they even affect to disdain them. They are barren, and justly so, having rejected the *bridegroom*.^a

5. None of them can maintain, in its integrity, the creed which they possessed at the time of their separation. *Faith* no longer belongs to them. Habit, pride, obstinacy, may assume its place, and deceive the inexperienced. The despotism of an heterogeneous power which preserves these churches from all foreign contact,—the ignorance and barbarism resulting from it,—may still for some time maintain them in a state of stiffness, which represents, at least, some forms of life; but our languages and our sciences will reach them at length, and we shall behold them passing with accelerated motion through all the phases of dissolution which Calvinism and Lutheranism have already exhibited.^b

6. In all these churches, the great changes I announce will begin by the clergy; and the Church which will be the first to afford this great and interesting spectacle will be the Russian, because it is the most exposed to European influences.^c

I write not for the sake of disputation. I respect whatever is respectable, sovereigns, particularly, and nations.

^a We have even heard them boast of this sterility.

^b All this is said without pretending to affirm that the work has not already begun, that it has not even made great progress. I desire to be ignorant of it, and it is of little consequence. It is sufficient for me to know that things cannot proceed otherwise.

^c Of all the Photian churches, none ought to be so interesting to us as the Russian, which has become entirely European from the time that the exclusive supremacy of its august chief happily separated it for ever from the suburbs of Constantinople.

I hate only hatred. But I affirm what is, what will be, what must be ; and if events contradict what I advance, I heartily invoke upon my memory the contempt and derision of posterity.

CHAPTER VI.

FALSE REASONINGS OF THE SEPARATED CHURCHES.—REFLECTIONS ON NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES.

THE separated churches are quite sensible that unity is wanting to them, that they possess no longer either government, or council, or common tie. There occurs at once an objection which must strike every mind. If difficulties arose in the Church, if any dogma were attacked, where would be the tribunal to decide the question, since those churches have no common chief, since it is impossible to hold a general council, as it cannot be convoked, as far as I am aware, either by the sultan or by any individual bishop? In the countries subject to the schism, the most extraordinary plan imaginable has been fallen upon ; that of denying *that there can be more than seven councils in the Church* ; and of maintaining *that everything was decided by those general assemblies which preceded the schism, and that no new councils ought to be convoked.*^a

If we object to them the most evident maxims of every imaginable government, if we ask them what idea they conceive of a human society, of any aggregation whatever, without a chief, without a common legislative power, and without a national assembly, they wander from the subject, and, after various circumlocutions, return to it and say (I have heard it a thousand times) *that there is no need for more councils, and that everything has been decided.*

^a As a matter of course, the eighth council is null, because it condemned Photius ; if there had been ten in the Church before his time, it would be demonstrated that the Church cannot be without ten councils. In general, the Church is infallible for every innovator until the moment she condemns him.

They quote, even quite seriously, the councils *which have decided that all was decided*. And because these assemblies had wisely forbidden to return to questions that were settled, they hence conclude that other questions can neither be treated nor decided, even although Christianity should be attacked by new heresies.

Whence it follows that the Church was wrong in assembling to condemn *Macedonius*, because it had previously assembled to condemn *Arius*, and that it was likewise wrong in assembling at Trent to condemn Luther and Calvin, *because everything was decided by the first councils*.

To several readers this may indeed have all the appearance of a fictitious narrative, but there is nothing more rigidly true. In all the discussions in which pride is interested, but particularly national pride, when it finds itself reduced to extremity by invincible arguments, it will swallow the most fearful absurdities, rather than give ground.

We shall be gravely told *that the Council of Trent is null, and proves nothing, because the Greek bishops were not present.**

Fine reasoning, to be sure! From this position it follows that every *Greek* council being, for the same reason, null, as regards us, because of our not being called to it, and the decisions of a common chief, moreover, not being recognized *in Greece*, or in the countries called by this name, no government, no general assembly, is possible in the Church, nor has she any means of treating as a body, of her own interests, nor, in a word, does she possess moral unity.

Pride having once adopted the principle, the most monstrous consequences lose their terrors; as I have just said, it stops at nothing.

The word *pride* calls to my recollection two truths of a

* And why the Greek bishops? They ought to say, *all the Photian bishops*; we cannot otherwise know what they mean. It is proper, besides, to observe by the way, that it entirely lay with those bishops themselves to be present at the Council of Trent.

very different kind. The one is melancholy, and the other, consoling.

One of the most able physicians of Europe, celebrated for his skill in treating the most humbling of our maladies, Dr. Willis, has said (and I would only quote his words on the authority of the highly respectable man from whom I hold them), "that he had met with two kinds of folly which were constantly rebellious against all the efforts of his art, *the folly of pride and that of religion.*"

Prejudices, alas! which are also in reality a kind of madness, present exactly the same phenomenon. Those connected with religion are terrible, and not without reason are they a source of alarm to every observer who has studied them. An English theologian has laid it down as a general truth, "*that a man is never reasoned out of his religion.*"^a

There are, undoubtedly, exceptions to this fatal rule, but they are in favour of simplicity, good sense, purity, and, particularly, prayer. God does nothing for pride, nor even for science, which is also pride, if quite alone.

But if the folly of pride comes to be superadded to that of religion; if theological error is grafted on pride run mad, on ancient, national, immense, and always humbled pride, the two anathemas pointed out by the English physician being then united, no human power can avail to restore the patient. Nay, such a change would be the greatest of miracles, for the miracle of *conversion* surpasses all others, when there is question of nations. This miracle God himself formerly accomplished, eighteen centuries ago, and still accomplishes, sometimes, in favour of nations which had never known the truth; but in favour of such as have abjured it, he has done nothing as yet. Who knows what he has decreed? "*To create, is but the play of his power; to convert, is its effort.*"^b Evil resists him more strongly than non-existence.

^a This passage, as remarkable from its intrinsic value as because it presents a happy example of the idiom of the English language, I have long treasured in my memory. It belongs, I believe, to Sherlock.

^b Deus qui dignitatem humani generis *mirabiliter* constituisti

CHAPTER VII.

OF GREECE AND ITS CHARACTER—ARTS, SCIENCES, AND
MILITARY POWER.

I BELIEVE we may say of Greece in general, what one of the gravest historians of antiquity said of Athens in particular, “that its actions were indeed great, but nevertheless inferior to what fame had made them appear.”^a

Another historian, the first of all, if I am not mistaken, in speaking of Thermopylæ, has used the following words: “A place celebrated by the death rather than by the resistance of the Lacedæmonians.”^b This extremely nice expression is applicable to the general observation I have made.

The military reputation of the Greeks, properly so called, was acquired at the expense of the peoples of Asia, whom the former have depreciated in the writings they have left us, to such a degree as to have depreciated themselves at the same time. In reading the details of those great victories, which exercised so much the descriptive powers of the Greek historians, we are involuntarily reminded of that famous exclamation of Cæsar on the field of battle, where the son of Mithridates was obliged to succumb to him:—“Oh, fortunate Pompey! in having only such enemies to contend with!” No sooner did Greece come in contact with the genius of Rome, than she fell on her knees, never to stand erect again.

The Greeks, moreover, sounded their own praises; no contemporary nation had the opportunity, the means, or the disposition to contradict them; but when the Romans took

et *mirabilius* reformasti.—Liturgy of Mass. Deus qui *mirabiliter* creasti hominem et *mirabilius* redemisti.—Liturgy of Holy Saturday before Mass.

^a Atheniensium res gestæ, sicut ego existimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verùm aliquantò minores quàm famâ feruntur.—Sallust. Cat. viii.

^b Lacedæmoniorum morte magis memorabilis quàm pugnâ.—Liv. xxxvi.

up the pen, they failed not to turn into ridicule "what the mendacious Greeks ventured upon in history."^a

The Macedonians alone, of all the Greek races, were able to do themselves honour by a short resistance to the conquering power of Rome. They were a people apart, a monarchical people, having a dialect peculiar to themselves (which no muse has spoken); strangers to the elegance, the arts, the poetical genius of the Greeks properly so called, and who in the end subjected these Greeks, because they were quite otherwise constituted. This people, nevertheless, yielded like the rest. Never was it advantageous for the Greeks, generally speaking, to measure arms with the nations of the West. At a time, however, when the Greek empire reflected a certain lustre, and possessed at least one great man, the Emperor Justinian paid dear for having styled himself Emperor of the Franks. These Franks, under the leadership of Theodebert, came to Italy to call him to account for this proud pretension; and if death had not rid him of Theodebert, the real Frank would probably have returned to France with the legitimate surname of *Byzantine*.

It must be added, that the military glory of the Greeks was only a passing meteor. *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, close the list of their great captains, which opened with *Miltiades*.^b From the battle of Marathon to that of Leuctra, there intervened only one hundred and fourteen years. What is such a nation compared to those Romans who ceased not to conquer during a thousand years, and who were masters of the known world? What is it, even, if compared to those modern nations that gained the battles of Soissons, of Fontenoy, of Crecy, of Waterloo, &c., and who are still in possession of their names and their original territories, without having ever ceased to grow in strength, in knowledge, and in renown?

^a Et quidquid Græcia mendax.

Audet in historiâ—Juven.

^b Neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.—Corn. Nep. in Tim. iv. The rest of Greece presents no difference.

Learning and the arts were the triumph of Greece. In both the one and the other it discovered the beautiful, and fixed its characters. It has transmitted to us models which have scarcely left us more than the merit of imitation. We must always do as it has done, under pain of doing wrong.

In philosophy the Greeks have displayed considerable talents; nevertheless they are no longer the same men, and it is no longer allowable to bestow upon them unbounded praise. Their real merit in this way is, that they were, if it may be thus expressed, the *couriers* of science between Asia and Europe. I say not that this is not highly meritorious; but it has nothing in common with the genius of invention, which was totally wanting to the Greeks. They were incontestably later than any other people in attaining knowledge; and as Clement of Alexandria has admirably remarked, "Philosophy only reached the Greeks after having made the tour of the world."^a Never did they know more than what they learned from those who preceded them in the career of science; but with their style, their grace, and skill in making the most of themselves, they have, to use an expression admirably to the point, *gained our ear*.

Doctor Long has remarked, that astronomy owes nothing to the Academicians and Peripatetics,^b and for no other reason than because these two sects were exclusively Greek, or rather *Attic*; so that they did not at all approach those Oriental sources, where men were learned, without disputing about anything, instead of disputing without knowing anything, as in Greece.

Ancient philosophy is directly opposite to that of the Greeks, which was in reality nothing better than an endless disputation. Greece was the country of syllogisms and *unreason*. People there spent their time in producing false reasonings, whilst showing how men ought to reason.

The same Greek father of the Church whom I have just quoted, said, moreover, with much truth and wisdom, "The first philosophers had not the reputation of always arguing

^a Strom. i.

^b Maurice's History of Hindostan, 4to. tom. i. p. 169.

and starting doubts, like those Greek philosophers, who cease not to argue and dispute through idle and barren vanity—who, in a word, employ themselves only about useless trifles.”^a

This is precisely what an Indian philosopher had said long before: “We do not at all resemble those Greek philosophers who make great speeches about small matters; it is our custom to announce great things in few words, in order that all may remember them.”^b

And it is indeed thus that the country of dogmas is distinguished from that of argumentation. Tatian, in his famous discourse to the Greeks, said to them with a certain degree of impatience, “Have done giving us imitations instead of invention.”^c

Lanzi in Italy, and Gibbon beyond the Alps, have both repeated this same observation on the genius of the Greeks, the elegance and the barrenness of which they alike admit.^d

Music is the only thing that appears properly to belong to Greece, and yet for this art they are indebted to the East. Strabo remarks that the guitar had been called *the Asiatic*, and that all the musical instruments were known in Greece by foreign names; such as the *nablia*, the *sackbut*, the *barbiton*, &c.^e

Even the mud of Alexandria proved more favourable to science than the classic lands of Tempe and Ceramus. It has been truly observed, that since the foundation of this great Egyptian city there was no Greek astronomer who was not born there, or who did not there acquire his knowledge and reputation. Such are Timocharis, Dionysius the

^a Clem. Alex. Strom. VIII.

^b Calamus, Gymnosoph. apud Athæn. Περὶ μηχανημάτων. Edit. Theven. fol. 2.

^c Tat. Orat. ad Græcos. Edit. Paris, 1615, 12mo. vers. init.

^d Saggio di Letteratura Etrusca, &c. tom. ii. p. 189. The genius of the Greeks, all romantic though it was, invented less than it embellished.—Gibbon, Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 207, trad. Franc.

^e Huet, Demonst. Evang. prop. iv. cap. iv. No. 2. Even to-day is called *ch’hitar* (*kitar*), a six-corded instrument much used in Hindostan.—Rech. Asiat. tom. vii. 4to. p. 471. In this word we recognize the *cithara* of the Greeks and Latins, and our *guitar*.

astronomer, Eratosthenes, the celebrated Hipparchus, Posidonius, Sosigenes, and, in fine, Ptolemy, the last and greatest of all.^a

The same remark holds true in regard to mathematicians. Euclid, Pappus, Diophantes, were of Alexandria; and he who appears to have surpassed them all—Archimedes—was an Italian.

Read Plato; at every page you will make a very marked distinction. As often as he is a Greek, he is tiresome, and frequently exhausts our patience. He is great, sublime, penetrating, only when he writes like a theologian, enunciating positive and immutable dogmas, apart from all chicanery, and which bear so clearly the stamp of Oriental genius, that he who cannot see it must never have had any knowledge of Asia. Plato had read much and travelled much; there are in his writings a thousand proofs that he had searched the real sources of sound traditions. He united in his own person the sophist and the theologian, or, if it may rather be so expressed, he was both Greek and Chaldean. Plato is not understood, unless, in reading him, this idea be always present to the mind.

Seneca, in his CXIIIth Epistle, has given us a singular specimen of Greek philosophy; but nobody, in my opinion, has characterized it with so much truth and originality as the cherished philosopher of the eighteenth century: "Before the Greeks," says he, "there were men much more learned, but *who flourished in silence*, and remained unknown, because they were never trumpeted and extolled by the Greeks.^b The men of this nation invariably join precipitation of judgment to the mania of dogmatizing—a twofold defect, mortally hostile to science and to wisdom. The Egyptian priest had good reason to tell them, *You Greeks are only children*. And, indeed, *they were ignorant alike of the antiquity of science and the science of antiquity*; and their philosophy bears the two essential

^a Observation of the Abbé Terrasson.—Sethos. liv. ii.

^b Sed tamen majores cum silentio floruerunt antequam in Græcorum tubas ac fistulas adhuc incidissent.—Bacon, Nov. Org. iv. cxxii.

marks of childhood—*it talks much and produces nothing.*"^a It would be difficult to speak more to the purpose.

If we except Lacedæmon, which was an exceedingly fine point in a corner of the world, we find the Greeks in politics what they were in philosophy—never agreed with other men, never consistent with themselves. Athens, which was, so to speak, the heart of Greece, and which exercised over it an undoubted magistracy, presents quite a novel spectacle in this respect. There is no comprehending these Athenians, frivolous as children, but with all the ferocity of full-grown men—a species of infuriated sheep, always led by their natural impulses, and always prompted by these impulses to devour their shepherds. It is well known, moreover, that every government is more or less attended with abuses; that in democracies particularly, and above all in the ancient democracies, we must look for some excesses of popular madness; but that a republic should not have been able to pardon so much as one of its great men; that they should have been reduced by injustice, persecutions, juridical assassinations, *to believe themselves in safety only in proportion as they were at a distance from its walls;*^b that it should have imprisoned, fined, accused, plundered, banished, put to death, or at least condemned to capital punishment, *Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Timotheus, Phocion, and Socrates*, is what never could have been witnessed except at Athens.

In vain has Voltaire written, "that the Athenians were an amiable people;" Bacon would not fail to add, "as a child." But what could there be more terrible than a robust *child*, were it even never so amiable?

The orators of Athens have been so much talked of, that it has become almost ridiculous to speak of them any more. The Athenian tribune would have been the disgrace of mankind, if Phocion, and men like him, in ascending it

^a Nam verbosa videtur sapientia eorum, et operum sterilis.—Bacon, *Impetus Philosophici*. Opp. 8vo. tom. xi. p. 272. Nov. Org. i. lxxi.

^b Corn. Nep. in Chabr. iii.

sometimes before drinking the fatal hemlock or going into exile, had not balanced a little so much loquacity, extravagance, and cruelty.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.—MORAL CHARACTER OF THE GREEKS.—THEIR HATRED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WEST.

WHEN we come to consider moral qualities, the Greeks appear in a still less favourable aspect. It is very remarkable that Rome, which refused not to do homage to their superiority in the arts and sciences, ceased not, meanwhile, to despise them. It invented the word *Græculus*, which figures in the writings of every author, and for which the Greeks were never able to take revenge, as it was impossible to confine the name of Roman within the narrow limits of a diminutive. To any one who would have ventured upon it, the ready reply would have been: "*What do you mean?*" The Roman required of Greece physicians, architects, painters, musicians, &c. He paid them, and laughed at them. The Gauls, the Germans, the Spaniards, &c. were, indeed, *subject*, as well as the Greeks, but by no means held in contempt: Rome made use of their sword, and respected it. I am not aware of any jest indulged in by the Romans at the expense of these vigorous nations.

Tasso, when he says, *La fede Greca a chi non è palese?* expresses, unfortunately, an opinion both ancient and new. Men of all times have invariably been of opinion that, as regarded good faith and the source from which it flows, practical religion, they left much to be desired. It is curious to hear Cicero on this point; there could not be a more elegant witness of the opinion held at Rome.*

"You have heard witnesses against him," said he, to the judges, of one of his clients; "but what witnesses? In the first place, they are Greeks, and this objection is

* Orat. pro Flacco, cap. iv. et seq.

founded on general opinion. Not that I desire, more than other men, to wound the honour of this nation; for if any Roman was ever their friend and partisan, I believe it was I, and I was so still more when I possessed more leisure.^a . . . But, in fine, here is what I must say of the Greeks in general: I deny them not letters, arts, elegance of language, ingenuity, eloquence—and whatever more pretensions they may have, I by no means reject; but *good faith and the sacredness of an oath this people have never at all understood*; never have they felt the force, the authority, the weight of these holy things. Whence comes the well-known expression, ‘Swear in my cause, and I will swear in yours?’ Is this phrase attributed to the Gauls or Spaniards? No, it belongs only to the Greeks; and so much to the Greeks, that those even who do not know Greek can repeat it in that language.^b Look at a witness of that nation: in beholding only his attitude, you will be able to form an opinion of his religion, and of the conscience which guides his evidence. . . . He considers only in what manner he shall express himself—never the truth of what he says. . . . You have just heard a Roman grievously offended by the accused. He could have taken revenge, but religion restrained him; he uttered not a word that could give offence; and with what reserve did he not say even what he was obliged to say! He trembled, he became pale as he spoke. . . . See our Romans when they give evidence in judgment: how they restrain themselves, how they weigh all their words, how they dread being swayed in anything by passion, how careful to say not one word more or less than is rigidly necessary! Do you compare such men to those who make sport of an oath? I refuse in general all the witnesses produced in this case; I refuse them because they are Greeks, and so belong to the most frivolous of nations, &c.”

Cicero, nevertheless, bestows a well-merited eulogium on two celebrated towns, Athens and Lacedæmon. “But,”

^a Et magis etiam tùm quùm plus erat otii.—Orat. pro Flacco, cap. iv.

^b Δανεισον μοι μαρτυριαν.

says he, "all who are not entirely ignorant of such things, know that the real Greeks consist of only three families: the Athenian (which is a branch of the Ionian), the Eolian, and the Doric; and this real Greece is but a point in Europe."^a

But of the Eastern Greeks, far more numerous than the rest, Cicero speaks with unmitigated severity: "I desire not," said he, in addressing them, "to quote the language of strangers; I am satisfied with your own opinion. . . . Asia Minor, if I am not mistaken, is composed of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. Is it we or you who invented the ancient proverb: '*There is nothing to be made of a Phrygian except by the whip?*' What shall I say of Caria in general? Is it not you also who have said: '*If you desire to incur any danger, go to Caria?*' What more trivial expression is there in the Greek language than that made use of in devoting a man to the excess of contempt: '*He is the last of the Mysians?*' And as to Caria, would you tell me whether there be a single Greek comedy in which the valet is not a Carian?"^b What wrong, then, do we do you, by merely maintaining, that when there is question of matters regarding yourselves, we ought to have recourse to yourselves?"^c

I do not pretend to comment on this passage in a way unfavourable to the modern Greeks. Is it found to be exaggerated? I agree. Is this portrait found to bear no resemblance to the Greeks of to-day? I agree to this also, and even most heartily desire it were so. But it will not remain less true, that, if we except perhaps a short period, never had Greece, generally speaking, any moral character among the nations of antiquity; and that in point of character, as well as in arms, the western nations have always infinitely surpassed it.

^a Cicero, *ibid.* pro Flacco, xxvii.

^b This passage is worthy of remark, as showing what comedy was, and what was thought of it at Rome.

^c Cicero, pro Flacco, xxviii.

CHAPTER IX.

ON A PARTICULAR TRAIT OF THE GREEK CHARACTER—
SPIRIT OF DIVISION.

ONE peculiar feature of the Greek character—and which, I believe, distinguishes the Greeks from all the nations of the world—is, that they were incapable of forming any great association, whether political or moral. They never had the honour to be *a people*. Their history shows us only sovereign towns, always destroying one another, and which nothing could ever amalgamate. They shone under this form, because it was natural to them, and because nations never become illustrious, except under the form of government which is peculiar to them. The difference of dialects announced that of characters, no less than the opposition of sovereignties; and this same spirit of division they carried into philosophy, which was divided into *sects*, as sovereignty was divided into small republics, that were independent and mutually hostile. This word *sect* being represented in the Greek language by that of heresy, the Greeks transferred the word to religion. They said, *heresy of the Arians*, as they had formerly said, *heresy of the Stoics*. Thus did they corrupt a word which originally conveyed no sinister meaning. They were *heretics*—that is, separatists in religion, as they had been in politics and philosophy. It would be superfluous to call to mind to what a degree they annoyed the Church in the early ages. Possessed by the demon of pride and disputation, they allow no breathing-time to common sense, producing every day new subtleties: they recklessly mix up with all our dogmas their peculiar metaphysics, which completely destroy the simplicity of the Gospel. Desiring to be both philosophers and Christians at the same time, they are neither the one nor the other: they intermingle with the Gospel the spiritualism of the Platonicians and the dreams of the East. Armed with their absurd dialects, they would divide the indivisible and

penetrate the impenetrable ; they cannot suppose anything divinely indefinite in certain expressions, which a learned humility takes as they are, and which avoids even to circumscribe, lest it should give rise to the idea of *within* and *without*. Instead of believing, they dispute ; instead of praying, they adopt argument ; the high roads are covered with bishops hastening to councils, the relays of the empire scarcely sufficing to them ; the whole of Greece, in a word, is a sort of theological Peloponnesus, where atoms are constantly warring against atoms. Ecclesiastical history becomes, thanks to these incomprehensible sophists, a dangerous book. In beholding so much folly, absurdity, and fury, faith staggers ; the reader, full of disgust and indignation, exclaims : “ *Pendè moti sunt pedes mei !* ”

To complete the evil, Constantine transfers the empire to Byzantium. He there finds a language, admirable no doubt—the most beautiful, perhaps, that ever was spoken by man, but unfortunately affording the greatest facilities to sophists—a penetrating weapon, which ought never to have been wielded except by wisdom, and which, by a deplorable fatality, has almost always been in the hands of the foolish.

Byzantium would induce us to believe in the system of climates, or that certain exhalations peculiar to certain lands invariably influence the character of the inhabitants. Roman sovereignty, in taking its seat upon this throne, being seized all of a sudden, as it were, by some magic power, lost its judgment, never more to recover it. We may read every page of universal history, and not meet with such a miserable dynasty. Either weak or frenzied, or both at the same time, these intolerable princes made their madness bear upon theology, of which their despotism took possession only to overturn it. The results are well known. One would say that language has aimed at doing justice on this empire, in designating it *Low*. It perished as it had lived—in disputing. Mahomet was breaking open the gates of the capital, whilst the sophists were arguing ON THE GLORY OF MOUNT THABOR.

Meanwhile, the Greek language being that of the empire,

men become accustomed to say the *Greek Church*, as they said the *Greek empire*, although the Church of Constantinople was *Greek*, precisely as an Italian, naturalized at Boston, would be *English*; but the power of words has never ceased to exercise very great authority in the world. Do we not still say *the Greek Church of Russia*, in defiance of civil supremacy as well as of the rules of language? There is nothing habit will not cause to be said.

CHAPTER X.

A PHOTIAN PARALLOGISM CLEARED UP.—ADVANTAGE PRETENDED TO BE DERIVED BY THE PHOTIAN CHURCHES FROM PRIORITY IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

THE spirit of division and opposition which circumstances have naturalized in Greece for so many ages, has taken such deep root, that the inhabitants of this beautiful country have lost the very idea of unity. They behold it where it is not; they see it not where it is. Frequently, too, they even become confused, and no longer know what they are talking about. They have imported into Russia one of their great parallogisms, which is at present producing a wonderful sensation in the circles of that great country. It is there said pretty commonly, *that the Greek Church is more ancient than the Roman*. It is even added in the language of metaphysics, *that the first was the cradle of Christianity*. But what do they mean? We know that the Saviour of mankind was born at Bethlehem, and if they will have it that his cradle was that of Christianity, there is nothing so strictly true. They will still say only what is true, if they fix the *cradle of Christianity* at Jerusalem and in *the Cenaculum*, from whence went forth, on the day of Pentecost, that fire which *enlightens, warms, and purifies*.^a In this sense, the Church of Jerusalem is incontestably the first, and St. James, in his quality of bishop, is anterior to St. Peter, by all the

^a Division of Bourdaloue's Sermon on Pentecost.

time necessary for performing the journey from Jerusalem to Antioch or Rome. But this is not at all what there is question of. When, then, will they understand that the controversy between us is not about *churches*, but THE CHURCH? It is impossible to compare two Catholic churches, simply because there cannot be two, the one logically excluding the other. And if *a church* be compared to *the Church*, we no longer know what is meant. To affirm that the Church of Jerusalem, for instance, or that of Antioch, is anterior to the establishment of the Catholic Church, is, as they say in England, a *truism*; it is a truth, indeed, but quite a barren one; it signifies nothing, and proves nothing. As well might it be remarked, that a man who happens to be at Jerusalem, cannot be at Rome without going to it. Let us suppose a sovereign coming to take possession of a country newly conquered by his arms. In the first frontier town he establishes a governor, and gives him great privileges; he establishes others as he proceeds. He arrives, at last, in the town he has chosen for his capital; he there fixes his residence, his throne, his great officers, &c. That, in the course of time, the first-mentioned town should claim the honour of having been the first to salute, by the title of king, the new sovereign; that it should even compare itself to the other towns of his government; and that it should cause it to be observed that it is anterior to the capital itself, would be quite just, as none have a right to hinder it from being said at Antioch that the name of *Christian* originated within its walls; but if THIS government pretended to be anterior to *the government* or to the state, its pretension would thus be answered: *You are right if you intend only to prove that the duty of obedience arose among you, and that you are the first subjects. But if you pretend to independence or superiority, you are quite astray, for there never can be question of anteriority in opposition to the state, on the good ground that there is only one state.*

The theological question is exactly the same. Of what consequence is it that such or such a church was consti-

tuted before that of Rome? Once more, this is not what there is question of. *All churches* are nothing without *the Church*, that is, *the universal or Catholic Church*, which does not claim in this respect any particular privilege, as it is impossible to imagine any human association without a government or centre of unity, on which depends its moral existence.

Thus the United States of America would not be a *state* without *Congress*, which *unites* them. Make this assembly and its president disappear, unity will disappear at the same time, and you will have nothing else than thirteen independent states, in defiance of language and common laws.

Let us add, although without necessity as regards the substance of the question, that this anteriority of which I have heard so often and so much, would be less ridiculous if it extended to any considerable length of time,—two centuries for instance, or even one. But what is there in Christianity anterior to St. Peter, who founded the Roman Church, and to St. Paul, who addressed to this Church one of his admirable epistles? All the apostolic churches are alike as to the date of their origin; their duration alone distinguishes them, for all these churches, one only excepted, have disappeared; not one of them is in a position to trace back, without interruption, and through a succession of bishops known to be legitimate and orthodox, to the apostle who founded it. This glory belongs to no other than the Roman Church.

It must be further added, that this question of anteriority, in itself so trifling and sophistical, is particularly misplaced in the mouth of the Church of Constantinople, the last in date of the patriarchal churches, and which owes its title even to the obstinacy of the Greek emperors, and the complaisance of the first See, too often obliged to choose between two evils, always the sport of the absurd tyranny of its princes, stained by the most fearful heresies, the perpetual scourge of the Church, which it ceased not to torment, and afterwards to divide, perhaps for ever.

But there cannot be question of priority. I have made

it clear that this question is without meaning, and that those who discuss it understand not what they aim at. The Photian churches will not see that at the time of their separation they became *Protestant*, in other words, *separated and independent*. They are obliged, besides, in self-defence, to employ the *Protestant principle*, to maintain that they are *united by faith*, although identity of legislation, even, cannot constitute the unity of any government, which unity can only exist where there exists also the hierarchy of authority.

Thus, for instance, all the provinces of France are parts of France, because they are all united under a common authority; but if some of them rejected this common supremacy, they would become separate and independent states; and no man of sense would tolerate the assertion *that they continue to constitute a portion of the kingdom of France, because they have preserved the same language and the same legislation*.

The Photian churches have precisely and identically the same pretension; they desire to be a portion of the *Catholic kingdom*, after having abdicated the common power. If asked to name the power or common tribunal which constitutes unity, they reply *that there is none*; and, if the question be still further urged, *How is it possible that any power whatever should not have a common tribunal for all its provinces?* they make answer, *that this tribunal is now useless, because it decided everything in its six first sessions, and hence ought never again to assemble*. To these miracles of false reasoning, they will add more, if your logic continues to harass them. Such is pride,—such, particularly, is national pride; never was it known to be ashamed of itself, or even to have any misgiving.

All these separated churches condemn themselves every day, as they say, *I believe in one universal Church*. For, as a necessary consequence, instead of this profession *de jure* (of right), they must substitute another *de facto* (of fact),—*I believe in THE ONE and UNIVERSAL churches*. This is the most revolting solecism that ever grated on the human ear.

And this solecism, it must be remarked, cannot be retorted upon us. In vain would it be said to us, "Separated from us, do you not pretend to unity? separated from you, why should not we have the same pretension?" There is not the slightest comparison. *Unity* is with us; nobody disputes the fact. The whole question hinges on the legitimacy, the powers, and the extent of this unity. Among the *Photians*, on the contrary, as among all other *Protestants*, there is no unity, so that there can be no question of knowing whether we ought to submit to a tribunal which does not exist. Thus the argument applies only to those churches themselves, and cannot be retorted.

The supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff is so clear, so incontestable, and so universally recognized, that at the time of the great separation, among those who rebelled against his power, none dared to usurp it, not even the author of the schism. They denied, indeed, that the Bishop of Rome is the chief of the Church, but none of them was so bold as to say, *I am its chief*; so that each church remained alone and *without a head*, or, what amounts to the same thing, out of unity and the Catholic pale.

Photius had presumed to call himself *Œcumenical Patriarch*, a title which could only be paraded in that seat of imbecility—Byzantium. Did the Church ever behold the bishops of one patriarchate assemble and style themselves an œcumenical council? This folly, nevertheless, would not have differed from the other. In order not to do violence to logic as well as the canons, Photius had only to assume over all his accomplices that same jurisdiction which he had dared to dispute with the legitimate Pontiff; but the conscience of man was more powerful than his ambition. He confined himself to rebellion, and dared not, or could not, go the length of usurpation.

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT MUST BE EXPECTED OF THE GREEKS?—CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK.

SEVERAL narratives have made known to us, although but vaguely, that a fermentation which cannot fail to be attended with valuable results has been excited in modern Greece. We are told that a new spirit has arisen, that an ardent enthusiasm for national glory has been kindled, that remarkable efforts have been made for the improvement of the vernacular tongue, which it is desired to assimilate as much as possible to its great original. The zeal of foreigners, allying itself with native ardour, is on the point of presenting to the world an Athenian academy.

On the faith of these accounts, we might believe that the regeneration of a people, anciently so celebrated, is near at hand, notwithstanding that the institution and the regeneration of nations by means of academies, and even, generally speaking, by means of science, is as contrary as anything we can imagine to the course of Divine laws. Nevertheless, I joyfully accept the augury, and I earnestly pray success to such noble efforts; but several considerations, I must candidly confess, still alarm me, and compel me to doubt in spite of myself. I have often conversed with men who had lived long in Greece, and who had particularly studied its inhabitants. I have found them all agreed on this point, that it will never be possible to establish a Greek sovereignty. There is something inexplicable in the Greek character which is essentially opposed to every great association, to every independent organization, and this is the first thing that meets the eye of a stranger who is at all capable of observing. I desire nothing more than that I may be deceived, but there are too many reasons for admitting the truth of this opinion. In the first place, it is founded on the character, the same now as ever, of this nation, which, if the expression may be used, is *born di-*

vided. Cicero, who was only removed by three or four centuries from the best days of Greece, gave it credit, notwithstanding, only for talents and wit. What can we expect now that two thousand years have passed over this unfortunate people, without ever allowing them at all to behold the light of liberty? Must not the fearful bondage under which they have groaned for so many ages have extinguished in the soul of the Greeks even the idea of independence and of sovereignty? Who does not know the deplorable influence of despotism on the character of a subdued nation? And, above all, such a despotism! No people, perhaps, ever experienced such another. In Greece there is no point of contact, no possibility of amalgamation between the master and the slave. The Turks are to-day what they were in the middle of the fifteenth century—Tartars encamped in Europe. Nothing can bring them into relation with the subjugated people, whom nothing can ally to them. Wherever they are, two laws, mutually hostile, behold one another in fury; they may touch one another for all eternity, without ever attaining the remotest degree of love. Between them no treaties, no accommodations, no transactions are possible. The one cannot concede anything to the other; and that feeling, even, which is everywhere else a bond of union, is powerless over them. On either side the sexes dare not look at one another, as if they were beings constituted in mutual hostility, whom the Creator has separated for ever. Between them stand sacrilege and capital punishment. One would say that Mahomet II. only entered yesterday into Greece, and that the right of conquest still prevails there in its original rigour. Placed between the scimitar and the baton of the pacha, the Greek scarcely ventures to breathe—he is sure of nothing, not even of his newly-wedded bride. He conceals his treasure, his children, and even the front of his house, if it be such as possibly to disclose the secret of his riches. He becomes hardened to insult and to torture. He knows how many blows he may bear without making known the gold he has concealed. What must not have been the result of this treatment on the character of a people utterly crushed,

among whom the child can scarcely pronounce the name of its mother before that of oppression? Real observers protest, that if the sceptre of iron which rules it came to be suddenly withdrawn, it would be the greatest misfortune for Greece, which would be immediately seized throughout with a convulsive fit, without the possibility of finding a remedy, or of seeing its termination. Where would be for this people, supposed to be enfranchised, the point of reunion, or the centre of political unity, which it would not understand any better than it has understood religious unity for eight centuries back? What province would yield to another? What race would reign over them all? Nothing, besides, presages this enfranchisement.^a Our weakness formerly preserved the sceptre of the Sultans; to-day our strength protects it. Great jealousies observe and balance one another. If appearances do not deceive us, they will yet, perhaps, sustain for a long time the Ottoman throne, although it be undermined on every side.

And what if this throne should fall! Greece would change masters; this is all it would obtain. It might possibly gain, no doubt, but it would be always held in subjection. Egypt is, doubtless, in every respect the country of all the world most calculated to depend on none but itself. Ezekiel nevertheless declared, more than two thousand years ago, that *Egypt would never be swayed by an Egyptian sceptre*;^b and from Cambyses to the Mamelukes the prophecy has never ceased to be fulfilled. *Misraim*, no doubt, still expiates under our eyes the crimes which proceeded of old from the temples of Memphis and Tentyra, the deep and mysterious recesses of which poured out error on mankind. Because of this prolonged iniquity, Egypt is condemned to the last punishment of nations—the angel of sovereignty has abandoned that celebrated country, per-

^a It must be borne in mind, that these observations on the state of Greece were written so far back as 1817. To-day, perhaps, King Otho, or his government, or the government at present waging war on his government, may be able to reply to the queries of Count de Maistre.—*Translator*.

^b Ezekiel xxix. 13; xxx. 13.

haps, never more to return. Who knows whether Greece be not subject to the same anathema? No prophet has cursed it—at least according to our books; but we might be tempted to believe that the identity of punishment supposes identity of transgressions. Was not Greece *the enchantress of the nations*? Did she not take upon herself the task of transmitting to Europe the superstitions of Egypt and the East? Through her are we not still pagans? Is there a fable, a folly, or a vice, that has not a Greek name, a Greek emblem, a Greek mask? And, to say all in one word, was it not Greece that formerly did itself the horrible honour of being the first to deny God, and to lend an audacious voice to Atheism, which had not yet ventured to assume the form of speech in the face of mankind? ^a

Ælian remarks truly, that all the peoples styled *barbarians* by the Greeks acknowledged a supreme Divinity, and that there never were Atheists among them. ^b

I desire nothing better than to be deceived; but no human eye can foresee the termination of the servitude of Greece; and if it came to an end, who knows what would happen?

More than once in modern times has Greece regulated its hopes and its political projects on the affinity of creeds; but, always destined to be deceived, it may have learned to its cost that it has nothing to hold by. How many centuries more will it yet require to bring the Greeks to understand that they can have no brothers who have not a common mother?

A fatal error of Greece, and which, unfortunately, has not the appearance of coming soon to an end, is, that it relies upon ancient recollections in attributing to itself I know not what imaginary existence, which never ceases to deceive it. It even goes the length of speaking about *rivalry* as regards us. Of old, perhaps, this rivalry had a

^a PRIMUM Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, &c.—Lucret. lib. i. 67, 68.

^b Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. ii. cap. xxxi. Thomassin; Manière d'Etudier et d'Enseigner l'Histoire, tom. i. liv. ii. chap. v. p. 381. Paris, 1693, 8vo.

choose to suppose it, does not appear at all probable. How-basis and a meaning ; but how can there be rivalry, now-a-days, when on the one side there is everything, and on the other nothing? Is it the glory of arms, or that of science, which Greece would dispute with us? It styles itself *the East*, whilst as regards the real East, it is only a point of the West, and to us it is scarcely visible. I know that it wrote the Iliad, that it built the Pœcile, that it sculptured the Apollo Belvidere, that it gained the battle of Platœa ; but all this is very ancient, and, to speak candidly, a sleep of two-and-twenty centuries very much resembles death. May the most melancholy auguries only prove to be deceitful appearances ! Let us ardently desire that this ingenious nation may recover its independence, and show itself worthy of it ; let us desire that its sun may rise at length, and dispel the darkness which has covered it so long ! It belongs not to a private individual to give counsel to a nation, but a simple wish is always allowed. May Greece Proper, the Greece so well defined by Cicero,* separate for ever from that fatal Byzantium, of old only a Greek colony, and whose imaginary supremacy is wholly founded on titles which no longer exist ! We are told of Phocion, of Pericles, of Epaminondas, of Socrates, of Plato, of Agesilaus, &c. &c. Let us treat, then, with their descendants, without troubling ourselves about the *municipia*. There is on our side neither hatred nor any bitterness of feeling ; we have not forgotten, like the Greeks, the peace of Lyons and that of Florence. Let us embrace once more, never again to be thrown asunder. There is no longer anything between us than, as it were, a magic wall, built up by pride, and which will not for a moment be able to resist good faith and the desire to be united. And if the anathema should still remain, let us see at least that no blame attach to us. A prelate of the Greek Church has complained bitterly, as I know for certain, that advances made in a certain quarter had been received with discouraging coldness. Such a derogation from the well-known maxims of mildness and good management, however slight we may

* Sup. chap. viii.

ever this may be, it is highly to be desired that new negotiations be attended with a more successful result, and that love spontaneously open its immense arms, which embrace nations as well as individuals.

CONCLUSION.

I. AFTER the awful tempest which has swept over the Church, let her children, at least, afford her the consoling spectacle of concord ; it is time they should cease to afflict her by their insensate discussions. To us, happy children of unity, it belongs above all loudly to profess principles of which experience has taught us to feel the importance. From every point of the globe (and happily there is none where there are not true Christians), let one voice, consisting of all our voices united, repeat with religious enthusiasm the language of that great man with whom I have reluctantly and respectfully disputed some questions of high importance : “ *Oh, holy Roman Church, mother of the other Churches, and of all the faithful ! Church God has chosen to unite his children in the same faith and in the same charity ! we will, from our inmost soul, ever hold to thy unity.*”^a We have too little known our happiness ; led astray by the impious doctrines with which Europe resounded throughout the last century ; still further led astray, perhaps, by unfounded exaggerations, and by a spirit of independence, enkindled even in the bosom of our Church, we have almost broken the bonds, of which we could not, without rendering ourselves absolutely inexcusable, refuse now to acknowledge the inestimable value. Catholic sovereignties, even (may it be permitted to say so without going beyond the bounds of that respect which is due to them), Catholic sovereignties, even, have appeared sometimes to apostatize : for it is an apostasy to refuse to recognize the foundations of Christianity—to shake them, even, by loudly declaring war on the chief of religion, crushing him with disgust, with bitterness, with shameful

^a Bossuet's Sermon on Unity.

chicanery, from which Protestant power would perhaps have refrained. Among the princes alluded to, there are some who will be classed one day among the more notorious persecutors ; they have not shed blood, it is true ; but posterity will ask whether the Diocletian, the Galerius, the Decius did more harm to Christianity.

It is time to abjure such guilty systems ; it is time to return to the common father—to throw ourselves, with all candour, into his arms—and to break down, at last, that wall of brass, which impiety, error, prejudice, and malevolence had built up between us and him.

II. But at this solemn moment, when everything indicates that Europe is on the eve of a memorable revolution,* of which that which we have witnessed was but the terrible and indispensable preliminary—to Protestants, above all, we must address our fraternal remonstrances and our fervent supplications. What are they still waiting for, and what are they in search of ? They have traversed the whole circle of error. By dint of attacking and (so to speak) paring down faith, they have destroyed Christianity among themselves ; and, thanks to the efforts of their formidable science, which has never ceased to *protest*, the half of Europe is left at last without religion. The era of passion has passed away ; we can speak to one another without mutual hate, even without warmth ; let us avail ourselves of these favourable circumstances ; let princes, especially, take heed that power is falling from their hands ; that as European monarchy could only have been constituted, so can it only be preserved, by the *one* and *only* religion ; and that if this ally should fail them, they must fall.

III. All that has been said to alarm the Protestant powers on the ground of the influence of a foreign power, is a mere chimera—a scarecrow, erected in the sixteenth century, and which in our age has no meaning whatever. Let the English, especially, reflect seriously on this matter, for the great movement ought to begin with them ; and if they hasten not to seize the glory which is offered them,

* Written in 1817. Well-informed readers will judge how far the remark is applicable at the present day.

another people will bear away the palm. The prejudices of the English against us are quite out of date; their sophistry is an anachronism. They read in some Catholic book, *that men ought not to obey an heretical prince*. They immediately take fright, and cry "No Popery." But all this wrath would speedily evaporate, if they condescended to read the date of the book—which must, undoubtedly, have been written at the melancholy epoch of the wars of religion and the changes of sovereignties. Have not the English themselves declared, in full parliament, that *if a king of England embraced the Catholic religion, he would, BY THE VERY FACT of so doing, be deprived of the crown?** They think, therefore, that the crime of desiring to change the religion of the country, or that of giving rise to a well-founded suspicion of such a purpose, justifies rebellion on the part of the subjects—or, rather, authorizes them to dethrone the sovereign without becoming rebels. Now, I have the curiosity to wish to be informed why and how Elizabeth and Henry VIII. had more rights in regard to their Catholic subjects, than the house of Brunswick would have to-day over their Protestant subjects; and why the Catholics of that time, relying on their natural privileges, and a possession of sixteen centuries, were not authorized to consider their *tyrants* fallen, by the VERY FACT of their *tyranny*, from all right to the crown? For my own part, I shall not say that a nation in such cases *is entitled* to resist its masters, to judge them, and to depose them; in any imaginable supposition, it would be incalculably painful to me to pronounce such a decision; but it will, no doubt, be conceded, that if anything could justify resistance, it would be an attack on the national religion. For a long time the designation of *Jacobite* indicated a decided enemy of the reigning house. The latter, in self-defence, kept the axe raised against every partisan of the dispossessed family; such is the political order. But at what precise moment did the Jacobite really begin to incur guilt? This is a formidable question, which must be left

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 677. London, 1805, 8vo.

to the judgment of God. Now that time has made this judgment known, the Catholic approaches the sovereign of Great Britain, and says to him: "You see our principles; our fidelity has neither limits, nor exceptions, nor conditions. God has taught us that sovereignty is his work; he has made it a duty for us to resist, at the risk of our lives, the violence which aims at overthrowing it; and if this violence prove successful, we find it nowhere revealed to us at what time success may render it legitimate. To press forward too eagerly may be a crime; to die for one's ancient rulers never can be criminal. So long as there were Stuarts in the world, we did battle for them, and under the axe of your executioners our last breath was for those unfortunate princes. Now they no longer exist; God has spoken, you are the legitimate sovereigns; we know not from what period, but you are so. Accept this same religious, determined, immovable fidelity, which we swore of old to the unfortunate race that preceded yours. If ever rebellion should rage around you, no fear, no seductive influence shall be able to detach us from your cause. Were you guilty, even, of the most unpardonable conduct in our regard, we would defend it to the last moment of our life. We shall be found around your colours on every field where your battle shall be fought; and if, in testimony of our faith, we should yet have to encounter scaffolds, you have familiarized us with them—we would water them with our blood, without remembering in anger that of our fathers, which you caused to flow for this same crime of fidelity."

IV. Everything appears to indicate that the English people are destined to take the lead in the great religious movement which is preparing, and which will form a sacred epoch in the annals of mankind. In order to reach the light of truth before all others who have abjured it, they possess a twofold and inappreciable advantage, which they little suspect: it consists in this, that by the happiest contradiction imaginable, their religious system is at once the most evidently false and the most evidently near the truth.

To know that the Anglican religion is false, there is no need either of research or of argument. It is judged by intuition ; it is false as the sun is luminous ; it is sufficient to behold it. *The Anglican hierarchy is isolated in Christianity ; it is therefore null.* Nothing reasonable can be said in reply to this observation. Its episcopate is rejected alike by the Catholic and by the Protestant church ; but if it be neither Catholic nor Protestant, what is it ? Nothing. Nothing beyond a civil and local establishment, diametrically opposed to universality, the exclusive mark of truth. Either this religion is false, or God has become incarnate specially for the English people : between these two propositions there is no middle point. Their theologians frequently appeal to THE ESTABLISHMENT, without perceiving that this word alone annuls their religion, inasmuch as it shows novelty and human action, two great anathemas equally visible, decisive, and ineffaceable. Other divines of this school, and prelates, even, anxious to escape from these anathemas, with the reality of which they are involuntarily impressed, have adopted the extraordinary course of maintaining *that they were not Protestants.* To this what can we say but ask them once more, *what, then, are you ?* "Apostolical," they reply.* But this they could say only to excite our laughter, if, indeed, it were possible to laugh at things so important, and men so highly estimable.

V. The Anglican Church is, besides, the only association in the world which has declared itself null and ridiculous by the very act which constitutes it. In this act it has solemnly proclaimed thirty-nine articles, neither more nor less, absolutely necessary to salvation, and which must be sworn to in order to belong to this church. But one of these articles (the XXVth) formally declares that God, in constituting his Church, has not left *infallibility* upon earth ; that all the churches, beginning with that of Rome, have fallen into error ; that they have grossly erred, *even as regards dogma, even as regards morality* ; so that none of them possesses the right to lay down a creed, and that

* Sup. lib. iv. chap. v.

the Scriptures are the only rule of faith. The Anglican Church declares, therefore, to her children, that she is, indeed, entitled to command them, but that they are equally entitled to refuse her their obedience. At the same moment, with the same pen and ink, on the same paper, she enunciates dogma, and declares she has no right to do so. I think I may be allowed to entertain the conviction, that of the interminable catalogue of human follies, this is one which will always hold a distinguished rank.

VI. After this solemn declaration of the Anglican Church, which annuls itself, there was wanting only the testimony of the civil power to ratify this judgment; and this testimony I find in the parliamentary debates of the year 1805, on the subject of Catholic emancipation. In one of the noisy sittings, which were only calculated to prepare the minds of men for a more distant and more happy time, the attorney-general of his majesty the king of Great Britain, happened to utter a sentence which has not, as far as I am aware, been remarked, but which is not the less one of the most curious things that have been said in Europe, for a century perhaps.

“Call to mind,” said, in the House of Commons, this important magistrate, invested with a public ministry, “call to mind that it is quite the same thing for England to repeal the laws enacted against the Catholics, or to have immediately a Catholic parliament, and the Catholic religion, instead of the existing *establishment*.”*

The commentary on this admirably ingenuous observation at once occurs. The attorney-general might as well have said, in as many words, “Our religion, as you know, is nothing else than a purely civil establishment, having no other foundation than the law of the country, and the interest of each individual. Why are we Anglicans? Assuredly it is not persuasion that determines us; it is the dread of losing property, honours, and privileges. The word FAITH having, therefore, no meaning in our

* Parliamentary Debates, &c. vol. iv. p. 943. London, 1805. Speech of the Attorney-General.

language, and the English conscience being Catholic, we shall obey it the moment it will no longer cost us anything to do so. In a twinkling we shall be all Catholics.”^a

VII. But if in the whole circle of error which this religion presents, there be nothing so evidently false as the Anglican system itself, to compensate, in how many ways does it not recommend itself to our favourable notice as being nearest the truth? Restrained by the power of two formidable sovereigns, who had but little relish for popular exaggerations, and held in check also, it is our duty to say, by their superior good sense, the English were able, in the sixteenth century, to resist, in a remarkable degree, the torrent which hurried away the other nations, and to preserve several elements of catholicity. Hence the ambiguous physiognomy which distinguishes the Anglican Church, and which so many writers have pointed out.

..... As the mistress of a monarch's bed,
Her front erect with majesty she bore,
The crozier wielded and the mitre wore :
Showed affectation of an ancient line,
And Fathers, Councils, Church, and Church's Head,
Were on her rev'rend Phylacteries read.^b

Noble British people! You were formerly the first enemies of unity; on you now devolves the honour of re-

^a I would venture, nevertheless, to express my belief that the learned magistrate took an exaggerated view of the future evil. “All,” says he, “will be Catholics.” Well, and when all should be agreed, where would be the evil?

Three days previously (sitting of 10th May, *ibid.* p. 761), a peer said, in speaking on the same question: “James II. only asked for the Catholics equality of privileges; but this equality would have led to the fall of Protestantism.” AND WHY? Always the same avowal. *Error, if not sustained by proscriptions, can never stand against truth.*

^b Dryden's Original Poems, 12mo. tom. i., *The Hind and the Panther*, Part I. I read in the *European Magazine*, tom. xviii. August, 1790, p. 115, a remarkable passage of Dr. Burney on the same subject. Some modern dissenters are less polite and more cutting: “They (the dissenters) called the Church of Rome a strumpet, the Kirk of Scotland a kept mistress, and the Church of England an equivocal lady of easy virtue, between the one and

storing it in Europe. Error only raises its head therein because our two languages are hostile; if they came to be allied, as regards the greatest of all objects, nothing would be able to resist them. It is necessary only to profit by the happy occasion now offered by the state of political affairs. A single act of justice (since in part accomplished), and time will do the rest.

VIII. After three centuries of irritation and discussion, what do you still reproach us with, and what do you complain of? Do you persist in saying that we have innovated, that we have invented dogmas, and changed our human opinions into creeds? But if you will not believe our doctors, who protest and who prove that they teach only the faith of the Apostles, believe, at least, your atheists. They will tell you "*that the powers exercised by the Roman Church are, in great part, anterior to almost all the political establishments of Europe.*"^a

Believe on this head your deists. They will tell you, "*that a well-informed man cannot resist the weight of historical evidence, which establishes that, in the whole period of the four first ages of the Church, the principal points of the papistical doctrines were already admitted in theory and in practice.*"^b

Believe your apostates. They will tell you that they had yielded at first to this argument, which appeared to them invincible, *that there must be somewhere an infallible judge*, and that the Church of Rome is the only Christian society which pretends or can pretend to this character.^c

the other."—Journal of the British Parliament, House of Commons, Thursday, 2nd March, 1790, Speech of the celebrated Burke.

^a Many of the powers indeed assumed by the Church of Rome were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe.—Hume's History of England, Henry VIII. chap. xxix. ann. 1521.

Hume, as we see, endeavours to modify slightly his proposition, but he merely cavils with his conscience.

^b Gibbon, Memoir, tom. i. chap. i. of the French translation.

^c This decision is Chillingworth's, and Gibbon, who relates it, adds, "*that the former was indebted only to himself for this argu-*

Believe your own doctors, even, your Anglican bishops. They will tell you, at those more happy moments when their consciences were at liberty, and they were also free from distractions, "*that the seeds of Popery were sown even in the Apostles' times.*"^a

Endeavour to recollect yourselves, endeavour to be sufficiently masters of yourselves and of your prejudices, to consider with a tranquil conscience of what a strange system you have still the misfortune to be the principal defenders. But are so many arguments necessary against Protestantism? No, it suffices to trace its portrait exactly, and, without anger, to invite attention to it.

IX. "By virtue of a terrible anathema, inexplicable, no doubt, but, nevertheless, much less inexplicable than incontestable, mankind had lost all their rights. Plunged in mortal darkness, they were ignorant of everything, as they were ignorant of God; and, because they knew him not, they could not pray to him, so that they were spiritually dead, without being able to ask for life. Fallen by rapid steps to the lowest depth of degradation, they outraged nature by their morals, by their laws, and by their religions even. They consecrated every vice, they wallowed in a mire of iniquity, and so brutal had they become, that the simple history of those times forms a dangerous picture, which all men ought not to behold. God, nevertheless, *after having dissembled during forty ages*, at length remembered his creature. At the moment appointed, and throughout all time announced, *he disdained not a virgin's womb*; he clothed himself in our unhappy nature, and appeared upon the earth; we beheld him, we touched him, and he spoke to us; he lived, he taught, he suffered, he

ment."—Gibbon, as above, ch. vi. In this supposition, we must believe that neither Chillingworth nor Gibbon had particularly studied our doctors.

^a Bishop Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. London, 8vo. tom. iii. chap. x. p. 148.

Honest man! Yet a slight effort of candour, and we should have heard him agree, not indirectly, as he does here, but in proper terms, "*that the seeds of Popery were sown by Jesus Christ.*"

died for us. Risen from the grave according to his promise, he appeared anew amongst us, in order solemnly to assure his Church of assistance that would endure as long as the world itself. But, alas! this effort of Almighty love had not nearly the success it promised. From want of knowledge, or of strength, or from distraction, perhaps, God missed his aim, and was not able to keep his word. Less wise than the chemist who should undertake to enclose ether in linen or in paper, he confided to mere men that truth which he had brought into the world; it escaped, therefore, as might well have been foreseen, by so many human pores. In a short time, this holy religion, revealed to man by the Man-God, was nothing better than an infamous idolatry, which would still subsist, if Christianity, after sixteen centuries, had not been, all of a sudden, restored to its original purity by two wretched men."

Such is Protestantism. And what shall we say of it, and of those who defend it, when it will no longer exist? Let them rather aid us in making it disappear. In order to re-establish a religion and a morality in Europe, in order to give to truth the strength it requires for the conquests it meditates, in order, especially, to consolidate the thrones of our sovereigns, and to calm the agitation of men's minds, so general throughout Europe, and which threatens us with the greatest misfortunes, it is an indispensable preliminary to efface from the European dictionary that fatal word, **PROTESTANTISM**.

It is impossible that considerations of such importance should not find their way at length into the Protestant cabinets, remain there in reserve, and thence descend afterwards, like a beneficent stream, to water the plains. Everything invites Protestants to return to us. Their science, which, at present, is only a dreadful corrosive, will lose its deleterious power by allying itself with our obedience, which, in its turn, does not refuse the light of science. This great change must begin by the princes, and remain perfectly foreign to the ministry called *evangelical*. Several manifest signs exclude this ministry from

the great work. It is always a great evil to adhere to error ; but, to teach it by profession, to teach it in opposition to the voice of conscience, is the height of misfortune, and absolute blindness is its undoubted consequence. A great example in this way has just occurred in the capital of Protestantism, where the body of pastors has publicly renounced Christianity, and declared itself Arian, whilst the good sense of the laity upbraids it with its apostacy.

XI. In the midst of the general excitement, the French, and among them, particularly, the sacerdotal order, ought to consider carefully how they proceed, and not allow to pass by unprofitably this great opportunity of labouring efficaciously in reconstructing the sacred edifice, even from its foundation. They have, no doubt, great prejudices to contend with, but they possess, also, great means of overcoming them, and what is most fortunate, several of their powerful enemies are no longer in the field. The parliaments no longer exist. Joined together in one body, they would have offered, perhaps, an invincible opposition, and it would have been all over with the Gallican Church. To-day, the parliamentary spirit can only be manifested, and can only act through the efforts of individuals, and these never can have a great result. It may, therefore, be hoped that nothing will hinder the priesthood from becoming sincerely united with the Holy See, from which circumstances had estranged them more, perhaps, than they believed. There is no other means of re-establishing religion on its ancient bases. Its enemies, who are not ignorant of this, endeavour, on their side, to establish the contrary opinion, *that it is the Pope who opposes the reunion of Christians*. A Greek bishop declared, not long ago, *that he no longer saw between the two churches any other wall of separation THAN the supremacy of the Pope,*^a and this assertion, so simply made by its author, I have heard quoted in a Catholic country in order to establish the necessity of restraining still more the supreme spiritual

^a This prelate is M. Elias Méniat, Bishop of Zarissa. His book, entitled *The Stone of Scandal*, has been translated into German by M. Jacob Kemper. Vienna, 8vo. 1787.

power. Pontiffs and Levites of France, be on your guard against the snare which is laid for you. In order to abolish Protestantism in all its forms, it is proposed to you to become Protestants. It is, on the contrary, by re-establishing the supremacy of the Pope, that you will replace the Gallican Church on its true foundations, and that you will restore to it its ancient splendour. Resume your place; the universal Church has need of you to aid in celebrating worthily that glorious epoch which posterity will never contemplate without the deepest admiration,—that epoch when the Sovereign Pontiff was borne back to his throne by events, the causes of which are evidently beyond the narrow circle of human means.

XII. No human institution has lasted eighteen hundred years. So wonderful a thing, calculated to arrest attention everywhere, is so more particularly in the midst of our changeful Europe. Repose is punishment to the European, and this character forms a striking contrast with Oriental immobility. He is essentially active and enterprising; he must innovate, he must change everything that comes within his reach. Politics, especially, have never ceased to exercise the innovating genius of *the daring sons of Japhet*. In the restless mistrust which keeps them always on their guard against sovereignty, there is much pride no doubt, but there is also a just consciousness of their dignity. God alone knows in what proportion these two elements respectively exist. It is sufficient here to call attention to the character, which is incontestable, and to ask ourselves what hidden power has been able to maintain the Pontifical throne in the midst of so many ruins, and against all the laws of probability. Scarcely is Christianity established in the world, when relentless tyrants declare against it a ferocious war. They bathe the new religion in the blood of its children. Heretics attack it in all its dogmas successively; Arius outshines them all, spreading dismay in the world, and *making it doubt whether it be Christian*. Julian, with his power, his cunning, his science, and his philosopher accomplices, deals against Christianity blows which would have proved mortal to anything capable of destruction.

Immediately after, the North pours its barbarian hordes on the Roman empire; they come to avenge the martyrs, and it might be supposed that they come to extinguish the religion for which those martyrs died; but there is quite an opposite result. They themselves are tamed by this Divine worship, which takes the lead in their civilization, and, mingling with all their institutions, engenders the great European family and its monarchy, of which the world had not yet the remotest notion. The darkness of ignorance follows meanwhile the invasion of the barbarians; but the torch of faith shines more brightly on this dark ground, and science even, concentrated in the Church, ceases not to produce men eminent for their time. The noble simplicity of those ages, illustrated by high characters, was of infinitely more value than the half-learning of their immediate successors. In the times of the latter, arose that fatal schism which reduced the Church to the necessity of seeking its visible head during forty years. This scourge of all who were contemporary with it is a treasure for us in history. It serves to prove that the Chair of St. Peter can never be moved. What human establishment could resist such an ordeal, which, nevertheless, was nothing compared to that which the Church was yet destined to undergo?

XIII. *Luther appears, Calvin immediately follows.* In a fit of frenzy, without example in the annals of mankind, the direct consequence of which was an internecine war of thirty years, these two insignificant men, with sectarian pride, plebeian acrimony, and the fanaticism peculiar to taverns,^a proclaimed *the reformation of the Church*, and did in effect *reform* it without understanding either what they said or what they did. When men without mission presume to undertake *the reformation* of the Church, they disfigure

^a IN THE TAVERNS people vied with one another in relating amusing anecdotes about the avarice of the priests; the keys, the power of the Popes, &c., were there also ridiculed.—Letter of Luther to the Pope, dated Trinity Sunday, 1518, quoted by Roscoe, History of Leo X., 8vo. tom. iii. Appendix, No. 149, p. 152. Luther's testimony as to the first pulpits of the Reformation may be relied upon.

their own party, whilst they really *reform* only the true Church, which is obliged to defend itself, and act with greater circumspection. This is exactly what took place; for there is no other real *reformation* than the immense chapter of *reformation* which we read in the Council of Trent; the pretended reformation having remained out of the Church, without regulation, without authority, and in a short time without faith also—such as we behold it to-day. But by what fearful convulsions has it not fallen to that state of nullity of which we are now the witnesses? Who can call to mind without shuddering the fanaticism of the sixteenth century, and the terrible scenes it exhibited before the face of mankind? With what rage, particularly, did it not wage war on the Holy See? We still blush for human nature as we read in the writings of the time the sacrilegious insults uttered by those coarse innovators against the Roman hierarchy. No enemy of the Christian faith was ever mistaken—all strike in vain, as they fight against God; but all know where their blows should fall. It is in the highest degree remarkable, that, in proportion as time advances, attacks on the Catholic edifice become more formidable, so that, in saying *always* “there can be nothing worse,” we are *always* mistaken. After the dreadful tragedies of the sixteenth century, it must have been said, no doubt, that the tiara had undergone its greatest trial; this trial, nevertheless, was only the preparation of a greater. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries might be called the *premises* of the eighteenth, which in reality was only the *conclusion* of the two former. The human mind could not have risen, all of a sudden, to the degree of audaciousness we have witnessed. To declare war against heaven, *Ossa* had yet to be heaped on *Pelion*. The structure of philosophism could only be erected on the vast basis of the Reformation.

XIV. Every attack on the Catholic religion, necessarily bearing on Christianity itself, those whom our age has called *philosophers* only laid hold of the arms with which Protestantism had provided them, and directed them against the Church;—meanwhile laughing at their ally,

which it was not worth while to attack, although, perhaps, it expected they would assail it. Let it be remembered how many infidel books were written in the course of the eighteenth century. They are all aimed against Rome, as if there were no real Christians beyond the Roman pale; which, strictly speaking, is quite true. It can never be sufficiently repeated, there is nothing so infallible as the instinct of infidelity. If there be anything it hates, that excites its anger, and which it always attacks everywhere, and with fury, it is truth. In that infernal sitting of the National Convention (which will amaze posterity far more than it astonished our frivolous contemporaries), in which was celebrated, if it may be so expressed, the abnegation of Divine worship, did Robespierre, after his *immortal* speech, send for the books, the robes, and sacred vessels of the Protestant worship, in order to profane them? Did he call to the bar, did he seek to lead astray, or to terrify any minister of that worship, in order to extort from him an oath of apostacy? Did he, at least, avail himself for the horrible scene of the wicked men of the Protestant world, as he made use of those of the Catholic order? He did not even think of such a thing. Nothing in this quarter ever embarrassed or irritated him, or in the least excited his jealousy,—it being impossible that any enemy of Rome should be odious to another, however widely they may differ in other respects. By this principle is explained the affinity, otherwise inexplicable, of the Protestant with the Photian, Nestorian, and other churches that were separated at a more early period. Wherever they come in contact, they embrace and compliment one another with a degree of tenderness which is, at first view, surprising, as their fundamental dogmas are in direct opposition; but their secret is soon discovered. All the enemies of Rome are mutually friends; and, as there cannot be *faith*, properly so called, out of the Catholic Church, that fit of feverish heat which accompanies the birth of every sect once gone by, they cease to quarrel about dogmas, to which they hold only in appearance, and which all

men see escaping one after another, from the national symbol, in proportion as it pleases that capricious judge, *private judgment*, to cite them to his tribunal, in order to pronounce them null.

XV. An English fanatic, in the beginning of last century, caused to be inscribed on the pediment of a temple that adorned his gardens, these two lines of Corneille :

Je rends grâces aux dieux de n'être plus Romain,
Pour conserver encore quelque chose d'humain.

(I give thanks to the *Gods* [what had he made of his scruples about idolatry ?] that I am no longer Roman, and so still retain some properties of humanity.)

And we have heard a fool of the same period exclaim, in a book quite worthy of such an author: "OH, ROME! HOW I HATE THEE!"^a He spoke for all the enemies of Christianity, but especially for those of his own time; for never was hatred of Rome more universal and more marked than in that age, when the great conspirators artfully succeeded in gaining the ear of orthodox sovereignty, and instilled poisons it has dearly paid for. The persecution of the eighteenth century infinitely surpasses all the rest, because it has greatly added to them, and resembled only the ancient persecutions by the torrents of blood it shed as it ended. But how much more dangerous was it not in its commencement! The holy ark was subjected in our days to two attacks, hitherto unheard of: it experienced, at the same time, the blows of science and those of ridicule. Chronology, natural history, astronomy, physics—were all, so to speak, in insurrection against religion. A shameful coalition combined against her;—talents, knowledge, all the powers of the human mind. Infidelity took possession of the theatre, and exhibited thereon pontiffs, priests, and holy inmates of the

^a Mercier, in the work entitled *The Year 2240*, which on one ground at least deserves to be read. It contains all that those unfortunate men desired, and all that was really destined to happen; they were mistaken *only* in taking a passing phase of evil for a permanent state, which was to disembarass them for ever of their greatest enemy.

cloister, in their distinctive costumes, and made them speak according to its views. Women, who are all-powerful for evil as well as for good, lent it their influence; and whilst talent and passion combined to make the greatest imaginable effort in its favour, a power of a new order rose in arms against the ancient faith: this power was ridicule. An *unique* man, to whom hell had intrusted its powers, came forward on this new arena, and completely met the wishes of impiety. Never had the weapon of sarcasm been handled in so formidable a manner, and never was it employed against truth with so much audacity and success. Until his time, blasphemy, circumscribed by disgust, destroyed only the blasphemer; in the mouth of the most wicked of men, it became contagious as it became *enchanting*. Even at this day, the wise man who glances at the writings of this sacrilegious buffoon, often weeps because that he has laughed. A life of a century was given to him, in order that the Church might come victorious out of the three ordeals which no false institution can ever resist—the syllogism, the scaffold, and the epigram.

XVI. The blows struck in desperation during the last years of last century against the Catholic priesthood and against the supreme chief of religion, had renewed the hopes of the enemies of the *eternal chair*. It is well known that the mania of predicting the downfall of the Pontifical power was a weakness of Protestantism as ancient as itself. Nothing could correct it: neither errors, nor the most enormous blunders, nor the highest degree of ridicule; it invariably returned to the charge; but never were its prophets more bold in foretelling the fall of the Holy See, than when they believed that this event had come to pass.

The English doctors have figured by this species of delirium in books that are very useful, precisely because they are the disgrace of the human mind, and because they must necessarily lead such men to consider their ways, as a culpable ministry has not condemned to irremediable blindness. In beholding the Sovereign Pontiff persecuted,

exiled, imprisoned, outraged, deprived of his states by a preponderating and almost supernatural power, before which *the earth was silent*, it was not difficult for those *prophets* to foretell that it was all over with the spiritual supremacy and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. Enveloped in the profoundest darkness, and justly condemned to the double chastisement of finding in the Scriptures what is not in them, and of not seeing what they most clearly contain,—they undertook to prove to us, by these same Scriptures, that that supremacy to which it had been divinely and literally foretold that it would last as long as the world, was on the point of disappearing for ever. They discovered the hour and the minute in the Apocalypse (for this book is fatal to Protestant doctors); and, without excepting even the great Newton, they can scarcely study it without losing their judgment. We have no other arms than sound argument to oppose to the grossest sophistry; but God, when his wisdom sees fit, refutes it by miracles. Whilst the false prophets were speaking with the greatest assurance, and a multitude, like themselves, intoxicated with error, yet listened to them, an obvious interposition of Omnipotence, made manifest by the unaccountable agreement of the most discordant powers, bore back the Pontiff to the Vatican; and his hand, which is never raised except to bless, already called down the mercy and the light of heaven on the authors of those senseless books.

XVII. What, then, are our brethren so unfortunately separated, waiting for, in order to give us the hand of friendship, and accompany us to the Capitol? And what do they mean by a *miracle*, if they will not acknowledge the greatest, the most manifest, and the most incontestable of all, in the preservation, and in our days above all, the resurrection (if I may use the word) of the Pontifical throne, brought about in opposition to all the laws of human probability? During several centuries, it may have been believed in the world that political unity was favourable to religious unity; but for a long time the contrary supposition has prevailed. Of the fragments of the Roman

empire have been formed a multitude of empires, all differing from one another in manners, language, and prejudices. The discovery of new lands has incalculably multiplied this variety of peoples—all independent in regard to each other. What other than a Divine hand could retain them under the same spiritual sceptre? This, meanwhile, is a reality of which we are all witnesses. The Catholic edifice, composed of parts politically discordant, and even hostile, attacked, moreover, by the most wicked, the most ingenious, and most formidable inventions that human power, aided by time, was capable of having recourse to, at the very moment it appeared to have fallen into irretrievable ruin, is re-established on its ancient bases more firmly than ever, and the Sovereign Pontiff of Christians delivered from the most relentless persecution, consoled by new friends, by illustrious conversions, by the most cheering hopes, raises his august head in the midst of astonished Europe. His virtues, no doubt, were worthy of this triumph; but at present let us consider only *the chair*. Thousands of times have its enemies reproached us with the weaknesses, the vices even, of those by whom it has been occupied. They did not reflect that every sovereignty must be viewed as a single individual, having possessed all the good and all the bad qualities that belonged to the entire dynasty, and that the succession of Popes, thus considered in regard to its general merit, surpasses all others without difficulty and beyond comparison. It escaped them, moreover, that whilst they insisted most complacently on certain blots, they argued powerfully in favour of the indefectibility of the Church. For if, for instance, it had pleased God to confide its government to a being of a superior order, we should admire such a state of things much less than what we actually behold; and in fact no well-informed man doubts that there are in the world other intelligent beings than man, and that are far superior to man. Thus, the existence of a head of the Church of a higher nature than man, would teach us nothing on this point. And if, moreover, God had rendered this being visible to creatures such as we are, by uniting it to a body, this wonder would by no

means surpass that which we behold in the union of our soul and our body,—the most common, indeed, of all facts, but not the less an enigma that can never be solved. Now it is clear, that, in the supposition of such a superior being, there would be nothing extraordinary in the preservation of the Church. The miracle we behold, therefore, infinitely excels that which I have supposed. God promised to found, on a succession of men like ourselves, an eternal and indefectible Church. He did so, as he said he would ; and this wonderful thing, which is becoming every day more dazzling, is already incontestable for us, who are placed more than eighteen centuries from the time of the promise. Never did the moral character of the Popes influence faith. Liberius and Honorius, both eminent for piety, require an apology in regard to dogma ; the bullarium of Alexander VI. is irreproachable. Once more, why do we delay to acknowledge this miracle, and all attach ourselves to the centre of unity, apart from which there is no Christianity ? Experience has convinced the nations that are separated ; there is no longer anything wanting to enable them to recognize the truth. But we are far more guilty than they ; we who, born and educated in holy unity, presume, nevertheless, to wound and sadden it by deplorable systems : vain children, as we are, of pride, which would no more be pride if it knew how to obey.

XVIII. “ Oh, holy Roman Church ! ” exclaimed of old the great Bishop of Meaux, in presence of men who heard without listening ; “ Oh, holy Roman Church ! if I forget thee, may I forget myself !—may my tongue wither and remain immoveable ! ”

“ Oh, holy Roman Church ! ” exclaimed also Fenelon, in that memorable charge in which, by humbly subscribing the condemnation of his book, he entitled himself to the respect of every age ; “ Oh, holy Roman Church ! if I forget thee, may I forget myself !—may my tongue wither and remain immoveable ! ”

The same words from the inspired writings occurred to these two men of superior genius, to express their faith and their submission to the great Church. To us, happily

the children of the Church, mother of all other churches, it belongs to-day to repeat the language of these two celebrated bishops, and to profess loudly a belief which the greatest misfortunes must have rendered still more dear to us.

Who could fail to be delighted by the magnificent spectacle which, in our times, Divine Providence presents to mankind? Who would not derive encouragement from what every true observer must perceive it promises for the future?

Oh! holy Roman Church! as long as the power of speech remains to me, I shall employ it in celebrating thee. I bid thee hail! immortal parent of science and of sanctity! SALVE, MAGNA PARENS! Thou didst extend light to the extremities of the earth, wherever the blindness of sovereignties did not check thy influence, and often in opposition to them. At thy approach, the sacrifices of human victims disappeared, together with barbarous or disgraceful customs, fatal prejudices, and the night of ignorance; and, wherever thy envoys could not penetrate, there is something wanting to civilization. Great men belong to thee! MAGNA VIRÛM! Thy doctrines purify science of that venom of pride and independence which renders it always dangerous and often fatal. The Sovereign Pontiffs will, ere long, be proclaimed the supreme agents of civilization, the creators of European monarchy and unity, the preservers of the arts and sciences, the founders, the natural protectors of civil liberty, the destroyers of slavery, the enemies of despotism, the indefatigable sustainers of sovereignty, the benefactors of mankind. If, sometimes, they have shown themselves to be men,—SI QUID ILLIS HUMANITUS ACCIDERIT, it was only during the shortest imaginable period: *a vessel cleaving the waters leaves fewer traces of her passage*, and no throne in the world was ever adorned with more wisdom, more science, and more virtue. In the midst of all conceivable overthrows, God has constantly watched over thee, O ETERNAL CITY! Everything calculated to destroy thee, was combined against thee, and thou art still erect; and as

thou wert of old, the centre of error, thou hast been for eighteen hundred years the centre of truth. The power of the Roman empire had made thee the citadel of paganism, which appeared to be invincible in the capital of the known world. All the errors in the universe converged towards thee; and the first of thy emperors, gathering them to one point, consecrated them all in the PANTHEON. The temple of all the gods arose within thy walls; and, alone of all thy monuments, it still subsists entire. All the power of the Christian emperors, all the zeal, all the enthusiasm—and, if we will—even all the resentment of Christians, fell upon the pagan temples.

Theodosius, having given the signal, all these magnificent edifices disappeared. In vain did the most sublime beauties of architecture seem to crave mercy in behalf of those wonderful constructions; in vain did their solidity weary the arms of the destroyers. In order to level the temples of Apamea and Alexandria, it was necessary to have recourse to the means which war employs in sieges. But nothing could resist the general proscription. The *Pantheon* alone was preserved. A great enemy of the Christian faith, in relating these facts, declares *that he knows not by what concurrence of favourable circumstances the Pantheon was preserved*, until the moment when, in the first years of the seventh century, a Sovereign Pontiff consecrated it TO ALL THE SAINTS.* Ah! doubtless, *he knew it not*; but how could *we* be ignorant of it? The capital of paganism was destined to become the capital of Christianity, and it was fitting that the temple which in this capital concentrated *all* the powers of idolatry, should unite within its walls *all* the lights of faith. All THE SAINTS in the place of ALL THE GODS! What a subject for profound philosophical and religious meditation! In the PANTHEON is paganism rectified and restored to the primitive system of which it was obviously a corruption. The name of GOD, no doubt, is exclusive and incommunicable. Nevertheless,

* Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, &c. tom. vii. ch. xxviii. note 34, 8vo. p. 368.

there are several GODS in heaven and on the earth.^a There are intellectual beings, better natures, divinized men. The Gods of Christianity are THE SAINTS. Around GOD are assembled ALL THE GODS, in order to serve him in the place and order assigned them.

O admirable spectacle, worthy of Him who has prepared it for us, and designed only for those who are capable of contemplating it!

PETER with his keys, that express so much, eclipses those of the ancient JANUS.^b He is everywhere the first, and *all the saints* only enter in his train. *The god of iniquity, PLUTUS,^c gives place to the greatest of thaumaturgi, the humble FRANCIS, whose extraordinary influence created voluntary poverty, in order to counterpoise the crimes of riches. The miraculous XAVIER far outshines the fabulous conqueror of the Indies. In order to gain millions of disciples, he called not to his aid intoxication and licentiousness; he surrounded himself not with impure Bacchantes. He only displayed a cross; he only preached virtue, penance, the martyrdom of the senses. JOHN OF GOD, JOHN DE MATHA, VINCENT DE PAUL (may every tongue, may every generation, bless their memory!) receive the incense that ascended of old in honour of the homicide Mars and the vindictive Juno. *The immaculate Virgin, the most excellent of all creatures in the order of grace and of sanctity,^d distinguished above all the saints, as is the sun above all the heavenly bodies;^e the first of human beings that pronounced the word SALVATION;^f she who in this world experienced the felicity of angels, and the joys of Heaven in the path that leads to the grave;^g**

^a St. Paul to the Corinthians, 1, viii. 5, 6; Thess. 2, ii. 4.

^b Præsideo foribus cœlestis janitor aulæ,
Et clavem ostendens, hæc, ait, arma gero.

Ovid. Fast. i. 125, 139, 254.

^c Mammona iniquitatis.—Luc. xvi. 9.

^d Gratiâ plena, Dominus tecum.—Luc. i. 28.

^e St. Francis of Sales, *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu*, iii. 8.

^f The same, *Letters*, book vii. ep. xvii. Et exultavit spiritus meus in DEO SALUTARI meo.

^g Klopstock's *Messias*, xii.

she whose soul the Eternal blessed in imparting to it his own Divine spirit, and in giving to her a son who is the wonder of the universe;^a she to whom it was vouchsafed to give birth to her creator;^b she who beholds only God above her;^c and whom all generations shall proclaim blessed;^d the Divine MARY ascends the altar of PANDEMICK VENUS. And lo! CHRIST himself enters the Pantheon, followed by his evangelists, his apostles, his doctors, his martyrs, and confessors, even as a triumphant king, followed by the great men of his empire, enters the capital of his conquered and fallen enemy. At the approach of the MANGOD, all these human deities disappear. By his presence, he sanctifies the Pantheon and fills it with his majesty. The work is accomplished; all the virtues have taken the place of all the vices. Error, with its hundred heads, has fled before indivisible truth. God reigns in the Pantheon, as he reigns in Heaven, in the midst of ALL THE SAINTS.

Fifteen centuries had rolled over the Holy City when the genius of Christianity, ever victorious over Paganism, boldly raised the Pantheon in the air,^e to make it only the crown of its famous temple, the centre of Catholic unity, the masterpiece of human art, and the most beautiful terrestrial abode of HIM who has condescended to dwell with US, FULL OF LOVE AND TRUTH.^f

^a Alcoran, chap. xxi. 91, *Of the Prophets*.

^b Dante's Paradiso, xxxiii. 4, seq. Klopstock, *ibid.* xi. 36.

^c Cunctis cœlitibus celsior una,
Solo facta minor Virgo Tonanti.

Hymn of the Church of Paris, Assumption.

^d Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.—
Luc. i. 48.

^e Allusion to the celebrated words of Michael Angelo, *I shall place it in the air*.

^f Et habitavit in nobis . . . plenum gratiæ et veritatis.—John i. 14.

THE END

LONDON:
Printed by COX (Brothers) & WYMAN, 74-75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

" also a R d to hind 20 "



the

JUN 6 1962

